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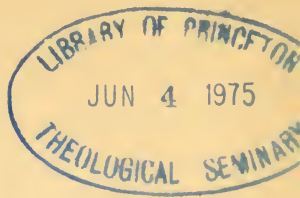
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A narrative of the Wesleyan
mission to Jamaica



A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
W E S L E Y A N M I S S I O N
TO
J A M A I C A ;

WITH
OCCASIONAL REMARKS ON THE STATE OF
SOCIETY IN THAT COLONY.

BY THE
REV. PETER DUNCAN,
WESLEYAN MINISTER.

“And behold the bush burned with fire and the bush was not consumed.”
Exodus iii. 2.

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1849.

TO
THOMAS FARMER, ESQUIRE,
OF GUNNERSBURY HOUSE, MIDDLESEX,

This Volume

IS INSCRIBED BY THE AUTHOR,
AS AN
EXPRESSION OF HIGH RESPECT FOR HIS PERSONAL CHARACTER,
AND ESPECIALLY FOR
HIS GENEROUS AND UNWEARIED EXERTIONS
IN
PROMOTING THE OBJECTS OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Wesleyan Mission to the Island of Jamaica furnishes a chapter of some interest to the great volume of Ecclesiastical History. Few Missions undertaken in modern times by the Church of Christ have been more successful, and not one has been attended with a greater number of those collateral advantages which accompany the diffusion of genuine Christianity. The reader of the following pages will remark, that in almost every stage of its progress, until the passing of the act for the abolition of slavery, its history is characterized by a fierce and determined opposition. Infuriated mobs have sought its destruction ; intolerant laws have been enacted against it ; its agents, in not a few instances, have had to suffer bonds and imprisonment for the sake of Christ ; and many of their people have had to endure “ a great fight of afflictions.” But though the bush was burning it has not been consumed. The cause of truth has greatly

triumphed, and thousands have felt the gospel to be “the power of God unto salvation.”

Much of what appears in this Narrative will be new to the generality of British readers, and indeed a considerable part of it has never been published before in any form whatsoever; but the writer has endeavoured to obtain the most accurate information on every event he records, and his opportunities for this have been of the most favourable description. It was his lot to be employed as a missionary in Jamaica between eleven and twelve years, and having arrived early in 1821, he became personally acquainted with several who had witnessed the progress of the work from its very commencement, and with whom he often conversed on almost every point recorded in the earlier periods of the history. But the greater part of the volume is occupied with events which transpired during his own term of residence, or with such as were immediately connected with them. Of those not a few came under his own observation, while the knowledge of others was conveyed by his brethren with whom he was in constant intercourse. In addition to these sources of information, he has availed himself of the help afforded by the publications of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, as well as the early notices of the Mission in Dr. Coke's History of

the West Indies : and it also affords him great pleasure to acknowledge his obligations to the Rev. Dr. Beecham and the Rev. Elijah Hoole, two of the General Secretaries, not merely for their countenance and approval of this undertaking, but also for their valuable suggestions which he has been most happy to adopt. He does not indeed assume that he has fallen into no mistakes, but he trusts he may affirm that they are neither very numerous nor very important. He now commends this Narrative, such as it is, to the kind attention of the reader, and above all to the special blessing of Almighty God.

8, SPITAL SQUARE, LONDON,
NOVEMBER 16th, 1848.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory remarks—The Rev. Dr. Coke visits Jamaica and preaches in Kingston—Disgraceful interruption of one of the Services—Rev. Mr. Hammett, the first Missionary sent out—The first Wesleyan Society is formed—A short account of its Members—The first Chapel obtained and opened in Kingston—Opposition to Mr. Hammett's Ministry—The Chapel presented at the Quarter Sessions as a "nuisance"—Mrs. Wilkinson—Preaching in the town of Port Royal—Attempts to destroy the Kingston Chapel.

THE island of Jamaica, the most valuable of the British possessions in the West Indies, is situated between $17^{\circ} 44'$ and $18^{\circ} 34'$ north latitude, and between $75^{\circ} 55'$ and $78^{\circ} 48'$ west longitude. Its general aspect is rough and mountainous; but it abounds with fertile valleys, and almost every part is covered with vegetation. Its name in the language of the aborigines is said to signify the "Land of springs," a designation highly expressive and appropriate. Its valleys are watered and refreshed by numerous streams flowing in every direction, and the whole landscape presents the eye of the spectator with scenery of extraordinary variety, magnificence and beauty.

Jamaica was discovered by Columbus in the year 1494, and for 160 years it continued in the possession of Spain. In 1655, the English, under Penn and Venables, having failed in their designs in St. Domingo, made an attempt on Jamaica. They landed at Passage Fort on

the Port Royal Harbour, and the Spaniards flying before them, they made an easy conquest of the whole island. Since that period it has continued an appendage to the crown of Great Britain.

The island is divided into three counties, namely, Middlesex, Surrey, and Cornwall, in each of which the Supreme or Assize Courts are held at regular terms. These are again subdivided into parishes, and it is in the parochial subdivisions in which the resemblance to counties in the mother country is seen chiefly to consist. With the exception of Kingston, they are as large as many of the counties at home, and are regulated in a manner nearly similar. Each has not only its vestry, but in general its separate establishment of magistrates, under a *Custos Rotulorum*, and its courts of Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas; and until very recently the *Custos* always presided in those Courts when he was present.*

The towns of Jamaica are not numerous, and, with the exception of Kingston, are neither large nor populous. The capital is St. Jago de la Vega, generally known by the name of Spanish Town. Its situation is in the parish of St. Catherine, and about 13 miles to the westward of Kingston. The official residence of the governor is in Spanish Town, which is also the seat of the Colonial Legislature and the supreme Court of Judicature; but

* The only exceptions to this arrangement are found where two or more parishes are conjoined so as to form a "Precinct." Of those there are however only two on the island; the one consisting of the parishes of St. Catherine, St. Dorothy, St. John, and St. Thomas in the Vale; and the other of the two parishes of St. Thomas in the East and St. David's.

besides the square formed by the public buildings, it is a place of little elegance, and little business. By far the most important town on the island is Kingston, in the county of Surrey. It contains a population of upwards of 30,000 inhabitants; and towards the harbour, the bustle of ordinary traffic and the activity of mercantile and commercial pursuits cannot fail to arrest the attention of every visitor. About the beginning of the present century the freeholders were constituted a body corporate by the style of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the city of Kingston; and all elected as members of the Common Council are invested with powers and prerogatives similar to those exercised by justices of the peace. It is the only town in the British West Indies enjoying municipal institutions; but they have not hitherto proved so beneficial to the community as might have been reasonably anticipated. The next in importance is Montego Bay, which is situated on the north side of the island, at about 120 miles distance from Kingston. It is the chief town of the county of Cornwall. It is handsome and well built, containing about as many inhabitants as Spanish Town, but, being a considerable seaport, it far surpasses it in commerce and activity. Falmouth, which stands about twenty-one miles eastward from Montego Bay, and in the adjoining parish of Trelawney, is next to it in respectability. Besides those there are Port Royal, Savannah la Mar, Port Antonio, Lucia, Morant Bay, and a few others, of which no particular description is necessary.

The political constitution of the island bears a strong

resemblance to that of the parent state. The three branches of the legislature consist of the Governor, the Council, and House of Assembly. The governor is of course appointed by the crown, and represents the sovereign. The council consists of twelve members, who are also appointed by the crown, and act both as a Privy Council, and in the time of the session of the legislature, as its second branch, answering to the House of Lords in Great Britain. The members of assembly are returned by the freeholders of the respective parishes, of whom each of the parishes of Kingston, Port Royal, and St. Catherine elect three, and each of the others only two. During the period embraced by this narrative, the parochial divisions, including the city of Kingston, amounted to twenty-one; which, according to the above mentioned arrangement, returned forty-five representatives, who constituted the third branch of the legislature.* Formerly the number of persons possessing the elective franchise was very small, none but whites with a certain property qualification, having been allowed to exercise it; but from the year 1830 the privilege has been greatly extended, all persons of colour having been then admitted to equal rights and privileges with the others. It may just be observed that all matters of internal legislation are within the jurisdiction of the Colonial Legislature,—that any bill passing the Council and Assembly, and receiving the consent of the Governor, becomes law from the time specified in the act itself; but any act

* A very few years since an additional parish was formed, giving two more members to the House of Assembly.

passed in Jamaica, may afterwards be disallowed by the sovereign, in which case it becomes null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

The legal institutions of Jamaica have also been formed somewhat after the model of the mother country, though in some of their details exhibiting a very important difference. It has been observed that the seat of the Supreme Court is Spanish Town, but that assizes are held besides in the other counties of Surrey and Cornwall, at which all business is transacted competent to such courts in England. The chief justice was always a member of the legal profession; but by a monstrous anomaly, the assistant judges were appointed without any reference to it, and were frequently taken from the most influential of the planters and merchants, who sometimes scarcely understood the technical language of the counsel pleading at their bar. A few of the senior assistant judges were salaried; but the others, who were numerous, had to give their services gratuitously. The reader will see in the course of this narrative, several of the baneful effects resulting from so pernicious a system; but within the last few years this also has been altered for the better. The chief justice is now assisted by two gentlemen taken from the bar; those have adequate salaries, and the dignity and impartiality of the bench have been greatly elevated. The courts of Quarter Sessions very much resemble similar institutions at home; parishes being understood as holding the place of counties. Formerly the custos presided assisted by local magistrates, but in this department also great improve-

ments have been effected. A standing chairman, with a competent salary and duly qualified for the office, presides, assisted by the stipendiary and local magistrates. The same parties also sit as judges in the parochial courts of Common Pleas, at which civil transactions of small amount are adjudicated; but in most cases an appeal to the Supreme Court lies against their decisions.

It is not the object of the writer to enter at any length into the political and civil constitution of Jamaica. The foregoing observations are made with the view of enabling the reader more clearly to understand many of those events connected with the Wesleyan mission hereafter to be recorded; and not to convey information on matters beyond the limits of this work. It will be seen that the mission and its agents were often connected with legislative and judicial proceedings, and the preceding remarks became necessary that such transactions might be seen in their proper light.

It need only further be observed that the population of Jamaica may be estimated at about 420,000 souls; of whom it is reckoned that not more than 30,000 are whites, and the remainder coloured and black. Of the latter upwards of 300,000 were formerly in a state of slavery.

The eye of Christian sympathy has been seldom directed in modern times to any place which stood more in need of the gospel than the island of Jamaica. The early British settlers partook too much of the character of those roving barbarians from Spain and other European states, who about two centuries ago frequented

the West India islands in search of wealth. The constant importation of negroes from Africa, introduced the debasing ignorance and wretchedness of heathenism. Slavery was accompanied with all those vices of which it is the fruitful parent. The sacred institution of marriage was almost unknown; and in the few instances in which its forms were celebrated, its obligations were, on the part of the husband, totally disregarded. Thus very few traces of Christianity were to be seen. An unbridled licentiousness, unchecked by public censure, prevailed; and the inhabitants were living without "hope and without God in the world."

It was on the 19th of January, 1789, that the late venerable Dr. Coke first arrived in Jamaica, and commenced that work which has been since carried on by the Wesleyan Missionary Society. It has proved a memorable day. The island had then been under British government for upwards of a century, yet scarcely any thing had been done for the souls of the people. The habits of the whites had indeed become much more settled. They were friendly and hospitable in their intercourse with each other, and had improved in many of the external civilities of modern refinement, but the hallowed restraints of religion were as much unknown as ever. They were strangers to the enjoyments of the domestic circle, and throughout the whole country the standard of morals was deplorably low. It is true, emigrants from Great Britain were constantly arriving, but they left their profession of Christianity behind, and were soon assimilated to the corrupt mass by whom they

were preceded. The ordinances of religion in many parts were rarely administered. There was a famine of the bread of life. There was indeed a church in almost every parish, but many of the benefices were generally vacant; and excepting on the occasion of funerals, the churches in the country parishes were seldom open for divine service, even upon the Lord's Day. Numbers of the clergy were living openly in concubinage and were otherwise unblushingly immoral; and it may be fairly questioned whether before 1789 that sabbath ever dawned upon Jamaica, which witnessed five hundred persons in all the places of worship put together, out of a population of between four and five hundred thousand souls.

Besides the clergy of the establishment, a few of the Moravian brethren had been a short time on the island. They acted merely as chaplains on certain estates, but their labours were utterly unsuccessful. Several negroes also of the Baptist denomination had arrived from America about the close of the revolutionary war, but they were little qualified for evangelizing Jamaica. Before 1789 the immense mass of heathenism was absolutely untouched, and the gross darkness which covered the minds of the people, was unmitigated and unbroken.

On the first visit of Dr. Coke he remained but for a very short period, but by preaching a few times in the city of Kingston he opened a door of usefulness which none of the adversaries have been able entirely to shut. He hired a large concert room for preaching, and a proceeding so extraordinary drew many to hear him; but the enemies were not idle. On one occasion while

preaching from "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God," he was rudely interrupted by a number of white persons calling themselves gentlemen, who, hating the message of mercy to the perishing heathen, pressed through the congregation to drag him from his place. It appears that the mob were greatly infuriated; and no one who knows any thing of the state of Jamaica at that time will deny, that, humanly speaking, the life of that eminent man was in the greatest danger; but God interposed in behalf of his servant, and delivered him from wicked and unreasonable men. A gentleman, at whose house he lodged, stood by him as his friend; but it was chiefly through the intrepidity of Mrs. Smith, a white lady, that the riot was quelled. Perceiving the designs of the mob, she stepped between them and the preacher, and mildly entreated them to desist from their purpose. She remonstrated with them on the impropriety of their conduct; but it was of no avail, they only grew more and more outrageous, and she herself became exposed to no small peril. Finding that all gentle means were utterly ineffectual, she boldly assumed a threatening attitude, and drawing out a pair of scissors she exclaimed to the rioters, "You may now do as you please, but the first man who lays a violent hand upon him shall have these scissors thrust into his heart." They saw that this was no empty threat, and therefore they escaped as fast as possible, actually boasting of their great courage while they were running down stairs. The noise and tumult occasioned by this interruption were excessive. An old acquaintance of the writer once

observed to him, "When I entered the room, it was just at the moment the rioters were quitting it: so much bustle and confusion I never saw. The doctor only was calm, and unmoved. He seemed to me to be like an angel." After the noise subsided, he took another text and quietly finished the service.

Notwithstanding the uproar which took place as has been related, he found a considerable number who heard him attentively, and a few who appeared desirous to "flee from the wrath to come." On his return to England he lost no time in obtaining a suitable missionary for Jamaica. The person he selected was the Rev. William Hammett, a man of superior talents, and who appeared to be every way well qualified for the important undertaking. He arrived on the island in the month of August that same year; and was gladly welcomed by Mr. and Mrs. Lungren, who for a time received him into their house. He immediately rented a house for preaching in a very populous, though obscure part of the town, and formed a small class of eight persons, who constituted the first Methodist Society in Jamaica. Their names were as follow, viz.—Daniel Coe, James Fead, Mary Ann Able Smith, Peter Lewis, Mary Lewis, Catherine Dawson, William Harris, and Venus Harris. To those were almost immediately added the names of the hospitable host and hostess of Mr. Hammett, Mr. and Mrs. Fishly, of Port Royal; and Messrs. Cook and Bull of Kingston.

Of the eight persons who formed the first class, Mrs. Smith was for many years highly honoured as the

mother of Methodism in Jamaica. She was born in the United States of America when they were British colonies; but was descended from a Scottish family, and some of her ancestors had suffered martyrdom in the cause of Christ. She came from America to Jamaica about the time of the war which separated the States from the mother country. It appears that she had been favoured with a religious education; and from the manner in which she stood up in defence of Dr. Coke, it is evident that she highly esteemed the messengers of salvation. Shortly after the formation of the society she was appointed to take charge of a class of females, and continued in that office to the great spiritual benefit of many, until the time of her death. The writer first saw her on his arrival in Jamaica, early in 1821. She was then far advanced in life, and was so feeble as scarcely to be able to walk about the room without assistance; but her mind had lost but little of that energy for which in her early days she had been so remarkable, and her eyes seemed to sparkle with the fire of youth, while she related the manner of Dr. Coke's first reception in Kingston.

Nearly the last time he had the happiness of seeing her, was at the close of the annual district meeting in January, 1822; when the missionaries met a few of the friends to inform them of the progress of the work on their circuits through the preceding year. It was a season not to be forgotten by those who were present. When it was reported that the increase of members was upwards of 600, and that the whole number on the island amounted to nearly 8000, Mrs. Smith raised her hands to heaven,

and with streaming eyes expressed her gratitude to God for what he had spared her to witness. "I was once," she said, "one of eight, but God has permitted me to live to see the little one become a thousand." Shortly afterwards, she became confined to her room, but lived until the 4th of March, 1823, when her spirit took its flight to the paradise of God, having lived about eighty years in the house of her pilgrimage. Her death was noticed in the Wesleyan Magazine for May, 1823; and it is a remarkable circumstance that the death of the excellent wife of the late Rev. Daniel Campbell, is also recorded in the same list. She also was among the first-fruits of missionary toil in Jamaica, and, until her marriage, she had resided for years in the same house with Mrs. Smith, and loved and honoured her as a true mother in Israel. For about twenty years they had been separated in body yet not in affection, and are now re-united in the kingdom of God, where they rest from their labours and have been followed by their works.

Of the others, William Harris deserves also to be particularly mentioned. He was a free black man, also a native of America, and arrived in Jamaica about the same time as Mrs. Smith. He was a person of a remarkably amiable and cheerful disposition, and his animated and pleasing countenance will not soon be forgotten by those who knew him. He was a great loyalist, and was passionately attached to every thing that was truly British. On one occasion when he was asked why he had left his native country to come to Jamaica, he replied with intense feeling, "I remained in my

country, until my countrymen rebelled against their king; then I left it, for it is my principle,—the king is the chief man in the nation, and the minister the chief man in the church.” He was eminently a man of peace, and from the time in which he became united to the people of God, he maintained his steadfastness to the last. For many years he was useful as leader of a large class; and was also long employed in superintending certain arrangements for the numerous funerals connected with the Kingston congregations. He died at a very great age towards the close of the year 1839. His late wife, Venus Harris, was also a person of a meek and quiet spirit, and a steady member from the beginning until her death. For a long period she was the leader of a class of females; and died in great peace in 1830, highly esteemed by all who knew her.

Respecting the others, there is comparatively little known to record. Mr. Coe, from whom the first preaching house was rented, did not long continue with the Society. It appears that he had been pious in the days of his youth; but on arriving in Jamaica, he fell into the sinful practices of the country, into which it is to be feared he afterwards relapsed. Peter Lewis also grew weary of the way and forsook it. Mary Lewis, his wife, lived but a short time after the Society was formed. She died in peace in one of the apartments belonging to the chapel-premises not very long after they were obtained. Mr. Fead was spoken of by the old members, as a man of a very amiable disposition, of deep piety, but of very retiring and unobtrusive habits. He died united with

the people of God, in February, 1803. Catherine Dawson came to the island along with William and Venus Harris, and was for thirty-six years a modest and consistent Christian. She died in hope of the glory of God in 1825 ; and her remains were committed to the dust by the writer of this narrative, amidst a vast concourse of sorrowing friends, by whom she was highly respected. It may only further be observed that of those eight persons, Messrs. Coe and Fead, and Mrs. Smith, were whites ; the others were all free blacks and natives of America.

The society being formed, Mr. Hammett continued to exercise his ministry with success. Many among the coloured people and blacks listened attentively to the word of life, which, by the power of God, was made effectual to their salvation. But the house they occupied being small, the increasing congregation soon became much incommoded for want of sufficient room ; and a more suitable place was earnestly desired and sought for. About that time a large building, which had been erected for a spacious dwelling-house, was offered for sale. It was situated on the east side of the great square in the centre of the town called the Parade, and appeared to be every way eligible for the purpose required by the Society. After Dr. Coke had been consulted upon the subject, it was purchased ; and the whole plan meeting with his entire approbation, considerable enlargements were made at great expense, but before the close of the year 1790 every thing was finished and the chapel was opened for the worship of God.

The building thus obtained and consecrated to the

service of God, measured 72 feet by 40 feet, exclusive of a covered balcony on the west end. The lower part afforded the missionaries a comfortable residence, besides a large room, called the "band room," where various meetings, connected with the society, were occasionally held. The upper part was the chapel, which was galleried on three sides, and so fitted up as to accommodate from twelve to thirteen hundred hearers. Great efforts were made to obtain pecuniary contributions for this undertaking, and considerable sums were also lent to the trustees by Dr. Coke. Those were afterwards partly repaid; but it deserves to be recorded as another instance of his generosity, that before he received the whole, he voluntarily and cheerfully gave up a considerable part of what was due to himself, under the pretext of repaying the Kingston society certain expenses which had been incurred for keeping of horses, that the missionaries might preach the gospel in other parts of the island. Thus did God so prosper his work in the hands of his servants, as that in the space of a year, they obtained one of the best edifices for a chapel at that time in the town, and standing in the very best situation which could have been selected for the purpose.

While the Methodists continued to worship in the small and obscure house which they first obtained, they met with but little interruption; but having been brought out of their obscurity by their commodious and well situated chapel, and the number of their hearers rapidly increasing, the jealousy of their enemies was awakened, and every means were resorted to, to bring them into con-

empt, and at the same time to call forth the most determined opposition against them. Abusive and slanderous letters appeared in the public papers, and the congregations were almost incessantly annoyed by persons who attended for the very purpose of creating disturbance. It deserves also to be mentioned that before the chapel had been opened for more than two or three months, the Grand Jury of Kingston thought proper to present it to the court of Quarter Sessions as a nuisance. This presentment was made in November, 1790, a copy of which is here inserted:—

“KINGSTON SESSIONS.

“The Grand Jury charged and sworn in behalf of our said lord the King, and for the body of the said town and parish, on their oaths do present and say that the two papers herewith delivered, and hereunto annexed, marked with the letters A. and B., purporting to be the affidavits of Robert Sinclair, William Taylor, Robert Elliott, Archibald M’Neal, George Waterhouse, jointly, and Robert Sinclair, separately, are in their opinions and belief a ground for presenting a house in the Parade, known by the name of the Methodist meeting, in which William Hammett preaches and delivers his doctrines therein, as injurious to the general peace and quiet of the inhabitants of the said town. In further support of their opinion they examined Samuel Yates, James Clarke, and Joseph Watson, inhabitants of the said town, whose testimony leads to prove what is above set forth.” Signed by the Grand Jury.*

* “Clement’s Exposition of Laws, &c., in Jamaica.” A small publication printed at Kingston in the year 1828.

The affidavits connected with this document are not to be found, nor has the writer been able to learn what was done in the Court on this presentment of the grand jury. It does not appear that the magistrates as yet gave any countenance to the proceedings of those who disturbed and annoyed the Methodists; but neither does it appear that they exerted their authority to check them. There were indeed a few of the influential part of the community who highly respected Mr. Hammett. It has been already intimated that he was a man of uncommon talents; and in their exercise he happily blended such a mixture of zeal and prudence as could hardly fail to command esteem. But it does not appear that those gentlemen who respected him were friendly to the object he had in view. To a certain extent they esteemed the man, but they cared nothing about his work; consequently nothing was done to protect the congregations from insult and violence, which (perhaps arising in a great degree from the failure of the grand jury scheme) continued to increase, rather than diminish. At last the destruction of the mission-premises was resolved upon, on the part of the mob; and some of the most active of our friends had to guard them to prevent their being pulled to the ground. But notwithstanding all their precautions, the rioters were determined if possible to effect their purpose; and on one occasion, about the hour of midnight, they succeeded in breaking down the chapel-gates. This called forth the interference of some of the magistrates, and a few of them were prosecuted; but they were acquitted by the jury. After some

time Mr. Hammett was obliged so far to yield to the storm, as to suspend the evening services ; a measure which was adopted with extreme reluctance, as it was only in the evenings the slaves could command time for attending the house of God. Those events occurred in 1791.

Notwithstanding all the opposition which the Society met with at this early period of its history, the work of God continued to prosper ; and among those who joined themselves to his people at that time, there is one name which ought to be recorded ; and a brief account of that person may be allowed for a little to interrupt the regular course of our narrative. The person alluded to was S. Burnett, afterwards Mrs. Wilkinson, a respectable coloured female, who for about fifty years adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour.

When Dr. Coke first visited Jamaica, Mrs. Wilkinson (whose name was then S. Burnett,) resided on Manchioneal Bay, in the extensive parish of St. Thomas in the East, and nearly sixty miles from Kingston. The circumstance of a minister preaching the gospel to negroes and people of colour, was at that time so remarkable as speedily to obtain very extensive circulation ; but the uproar connected with that event, caused it to be noised abroad to the very extremities of the island. She had been informed of two principal duties which had been taught, namely, that the people ought to meet together to pray to God, and, that instead of living as they were doing, they ought to get decently married. Her views of prayer were at first so crude and defective, that

they can hardly be related with gravity, but according to the light she then had (which was indeed but little), she assembled a few of her neighbours, and they performed their religious exercises as well as they could. But what was to be done for the solemnization of marriages? Negro marriages there, had never been heard of. The parish church was also between twenty and thirty miles distant; and no messenger of mercy had ever visited the extensive district of Manchioneal. In this emergency, she saw no way but to perform the duties of the clergyman herself, and she actually married several couples, which were amongst the first negro marriages solemnized on the island. On account of frequent intercourse with Kingston, and the spread of religious knowledge there, her ardent mind became more and more enlightened; and wishing to do all the good she was able, as she received the knowledge of religious truths herself, so she communicated them to others. For this purpose she met as many as were willing to attend, in a house which, thirty years afterwards, was occupied by the missionaries for preaching the gospel. These humble efforts on the part of this sincere woman soon excited the suspicions of the principal inhabitants; who became so incensed against her, that at last she had to escape to Kingston for her life. On her arrival, she immediately joined the Society. She was diligent in attending the various means of grace, and her profiting appeared to all. During the period in which the Kingston Chapel was afterwards shut up, which was between 1807 and 1815, she regularly attended divine service in the parish

church, and at the close of each service, she converted the church into a Wesleyan class-room, by going from seat to seat, conversing with many who tarried to receive her instructions. The greater part of those were Methodists, but some became members of the Established Church, and were known by the appellation of "Church lights." This community afterwards spread into several parts of the island, and numbered persons among them of decided piety.

Mrs. Wilkinson was a Christian of no common kind. She was zealous in the cause of God, and her whole life was consistent with her Christian profession. She greatly honoured the missionaries, "esteeming them highly in love for their work's sake;" and some of them can never forget her visits at the chapel-house, during the sitting of the District Meetings; nor the earnest ejaculations she offered up to God on their behalf. She was called to that rest which she had long and ardently desired, only in the commencement of the year 1840, having lived, it is presumed, little short of ninety years. As might be expected, her last end was peace.

The labours of Mr. Hammett were not exclusively confined to Kingston. Two or three neighbouring estates were opened to him, and some of the slaves gave evident proofs of a sincere desire to obtain the salvation of the gospel. He also regularly preached in the town of Port Royal, which lies only about six miles by water from Kingston. This is a place of considerable historic fame. It has been desolated alternately by the fearful judgments of God, by earthquake, hurricanes, and fire;

but the inhabitants were long proverbial for their wickedness all over the island. At first Mr. H. was favoured with the use of the court-house, but this privilege was soon withdrawn. He then preached in the house of Mr. Fishley, who was a master shipwright in the royal dock-yard; but only few attended; there was but little outward persecution, and there was nearly as little success.

The discontinuance of the evening service in Kingston was the means of somewhat abating the persecution there; but it is plain that the opposers were still bent upon the destruction of the chapel. One morning after the guard had been dispensed with, a quantity of burnt coals were found on the chapel floor, leaving no doubt but that an attempt had been made to set the premises on fire. Another instance of intended violence, which terminated in a ludicrous manner, is related by Dr. Coke. He says, "A large party of the sons of Belial had on a dark night beset the chapel; but before they could accomplish their purpose, two very large and dreadful beings like globes of fire were seen moving towards them with majestic pace; which struck them with such terror and dismay, that they hastily fled to provide for their own safety. Those horrid appearances proved to be only two harmless lamps affixed to a lady's chariot." Thus "the wicked flee when no man pursueth."

CHAPTER II.

Arrival of the Rev. Mr. Brazier—Dr. Coke again visits Jamaica along with Mr. Werrill, another Missionary—Failure of Mr. Hammett's health, who leaves the Island with Dr. Coke—Mr. Brazier's health also fails, and he goes to America—Death of Mr. Werrill—Temporary return of Mr. Brazier—Arrival of the Rev. W. Fish—Of Mr. McVean—Mr. Fish removes to Montego Bay, and labours with success—Death of John H. Constant—Preaching in the parishes of St. George and St. Thomas in the East—Mr. Fish returns to Kingston—A contribution to assist Great Britain in defraying the expenses of the War—Arrival of Missionaries—They extend their labours, but with little success—Chapel-house violently broken into at Midnight—Mission Premises seized by the Militia during Martial Law—Number of Members.

IN the beginning of the year 1791, Mr. Brazier arrived to the assistance of Mr. Hammett, and in a few days afterwards the venerable founder of the Mission again visited Jamaica, bringing along with him Mr. Werrill, another missionary. After remaining a few days at Montego Bay, where they landed, they proceeded to Kingston, a distance of about one hundred and twenty miles. It appears they performed this long journey on horseback, a more serious undertaking than can be well conceived by persons who are unacquainted with a tropical climate; especially as the roads were then much injured by recent heavy rains. But, says the Doctor, "notwithstanding our trials, the novelty, beauty, and grandeur of the different prospects we met with in our way, and perhaps a peculiar turn of mind for extracting out of those innocent transitory things much of

that sweetness which they are capable of yielding, together with the approving smile of Heaven, made our journey very agreeable: but who can count the various beauties of those prolific regions! Abundance and variety strive together for the mastery, and alternately appeal to the judgment and the senses. The contemplative mind is overwhelmed with a profusion of beauties. But the power and goodness of God are conspicuous in all."

On his arrival in Kingston Dr. Coke, attempted to restore the evening services, but the behaviour of many was so rude that he found himself under the necessity of giving them up. At this time he visited Spanish Town, which is only thirteen miles distant. There also he attempted to preach, but he was excessively disturbed by the white "*gentlemen*" who assembled for that purpose; but notwithstanding those discouragements, thinking he saw the prospect of usefulness, he hired a small house and left Mr. Werrill to follow up the opening. The annoyance on the part of the whites abated, and Mr. W. was diligent and persevering, but not successful; the house in which he preached was small and incommodious, and few of the people seemed to care for their salvation. This was exceedingly discouraging. In Kingston the servants of God cheerfully bore up under the persecutions of their enemies, for there the word of the Lord was glorified, but the deadly apathy of Port Royal and Spanish Town, was worse than the fiercest persecution. It was a trial indeed.

After Dr. Coke had remained a short time on the island and preached in various places, he took his pas-

sage in a vessel bound for Charleston in South Carolina, taking Mr. Hammett along with him, who had been completely worn down by intermittent fevers, as well as by his laborious efforts to extend the gospel. It was intended that Mr. Hammett's removal should be but temporary, as it was every way probable that a short residence in a colder climate would fully re-establish his health. But how short-sighted is man. He had only been a very little time in Charleston, when he headed a schism which occurred amongst the Methodists in that city. Those who separated from their brethren erected for him a large and spacious chapel, and for some time he was very popular. In a very few years, however, the congregation dwindled away, Mr. Hammett purchased slaves, settled a plantation, and became a man of the world. It is exceedingly painful to narrate these events, and to reflect, that his removal from Jamaica, which on the part of Dr. Coke was dictated by the purest benevolence, should have been the occasion of the ruin of one who had been truly a "great and useful minister."

The Societies were now left to the care of Messrs. Brazier and Werrill, but the health of the former soon became so much impaired as to render it necessary for him to quit the island, and in the month of August he left for the continent of America. The burden of the Societies now rested upon the latter, and having ceased to visit Spanish Town, he concentrated his energies in the service of Kingston and its more immediate vicinity, and his labours were owned of God in an uncommon manner. But the great head of his Church was pleased

to try his little flock with severer exercises than any through which they had been heretofore called to pass. Mr. Brazier had only taken his departure about three months, when Mr. Werrill was called away by death. This melancholy event occurred on the 15th of November, 1791, and no language can do justice to the feelings of the bereaved Society. They were not only left as sheep without a shepherd, but also as sheep in the midst of wolves. A few days after this occurrence Mrs. Smith wrote to Dr. Coke on the subject, and as she describes the last moments of the first Wesleyan missionary who fell by death in the island of Jamaica, and as the reader may also learn something of the state of the work at the time, no apology need be made for inserting a part of her letter.

After briefly stating the fact of his death, she observes, "He has, I think, fallen a martyr to his indefatigable labours in his Master's vineyard. He constantly preached five nights in the week, and almost every morning, and led five classes, besides his Sabbath duties. Though he was not successful either at Spanish Town or Port Royal, yet in Kingston the work has spread and deepened in a remarkable manner; and I fear that we shall never have a minister better calculated to establish and build up a church in this part of the world, than he was. While he preached the most plain and forcible doctrines, he strove by the most loving deportment to gain souls. Oh may I be enabled to follow him, as he followed Christ.

"On the 6th instant he preached in the forenoon on

those words, '*Fear not, little flock,*' &c. The hearers were much affected, and at the sacrament, the Lord was present indeed. Our dear friend was overcome with fatigue, and was very feverish ; but on lying down and getting an hour's sleep, he was so far strengthened, as to preach in the afternoon, on '*Fight the good fight,*' to a very large and serious congregation. Notwithstanding his indisposition he was drawn out to a greater length than usual, and assuredly preached by the power of the Holy Ghost. He met the Society ; and on Monday morning early, he preached again, and was seemingly much better. But at noon his fever came on with great strength. In the evening he sent for me. I went, and prevailed upon him to send for a physician, whose every effort was exerted ineffectually. His afflicted friends paid him the greatest attention. He wanted nothing that either love or money could procure. But, alas, all was in vain.

"On Thursday his soul was as much racked as his body ; and the enemy continued his fierce assaults through the night. On Friday morning he requested I would pray with him. This he knew was laying a hard task upon me ; but blessed be God, I found uncommon freedom, and the Lord gave us his blessing. He broke out in raptures of praise and thanksgiving, and prayed himself for some moments. In the evening on giving him some nourishment he said, '*Sister, how true is that saying, As iron sharpeneth iron so doth the countenance of a man his friend.*' I never felt that so forcibly exemplified as under your prayer this morning. Glory be

to God, my soul has ever since been so filled with love and joy that my cup runneth over.' ”

In that happy state of mind he continued to the last, but on the night of the following Monday, she adds “ He was so low that we thought him expiring. I said, ‘ I trust you now feel that God is love.’ His pulse which had left him returned, and he exclaimed, ‘ Blessed be God I do.’ I answered, ‘ And you find his strong arm supporting you in these strong conflicts.’ He said, ‘ Indeed I do, I have the assurance that Christ is my righteousness, and full and perfect salvation !’ A few minutes before seven in the evening he sweetly fell asleep, for surely death had no sting to him. Though the room was filled with weeping friends, not one of them thought him dead, till I cried out, (my soul being filled with grateful transport to God for so wonderfully supporting my much valued friend,)

‘ Happy soul, thy days are ended,
All thy mourning days below ;
Go, by angel guards attended,
To the sight of Jesus, go.’

It was then found difficult to restrain the outcries of our friends ; for I do not think there ever was in this town a death lamented by so many sincere souls as his was.

“ As soon as they were calmed we sung a hymn, and went to prayer, praising God for his dealings to our pastor and entreating his protection and support to ourselves. You, sir, will feel for us, sheep without a shepherd. Will not the wolf take advantage of our situation and tear, and rend, and slay ? *May God of his infinite mercy send us another Werrill !* ”

Thus died Mr. Werrill, on the 15th November, 1791. He was interred the following evening in the Wesleyan burying ground, which lies on the east end of the town and about a mile from the Parade Chapel. When a vast concourse of people were attending the remains of the departed missionary to the tomb, a circumstance occurred worthy of notice. "A gentleman and his lady were riding swiftly in their phaeton; but the driver observing the danger some of our friends were in of being hurt by his horses, attempted to rein them in. Immediately the master cruelly cried out 'Drive, on they are all going to hell;' when instantly, though on smooth ground, the phaeton upset and the lady was taken up for dead. Some negroes who had been standing by, and who it appears had in this instance learned to scoff at serious persons, were suddenly checked, and cried out, 'There now, God Almighty do that.' Thus the eyes of the blind were opened to see the hand of God."

The writer will be excused for dwelling so long on the above mournful event. He himself laboured many years afterwards on the same field which was cultivated by the first Wesleyan missionaries. He has often visited that solemn spot where the ashes of some of his predecessors repose, and amongst others he has bent over the grave of Werrill. While he writes, he thinks of no fewer than eleven of his fellow-labourers who, during the period of his sojourn in Jamaica, fell by the hand of the last enemy. It was the field of arduous conflict, but it was the field of victory. God has indeed "buried many of his workmen but he has carried on his work." Their

spirits, resting from their hard toil, are now happy with the Lord. Hundreds of their spiritual children have also overtaken them, and both he who sowed and they who reaped are rejoicing together.

The Society being now without a pastor, the fears which appear to have been entertained by Mrs. Smith were to some extent painfully realized. Unhappy disputes and contentions began to arise : but through her instrumentality, and that of John Constant, a free black man and leader, who was afterwards known in the Society by the name of the " Peace-maker," the evil was in some measure restrained. Yet, notwithstanding their pious and prudent endeavours, the society was on the point of being divided, when Mr. Brazier suddenly returned from America. The guilty stood reproved, and peace was effectually restored. Since that time to the present, a period of more than half a century, the island of Jamaica has never been without one or more Wesleyan missionaries.

In the month of May, 1792, the hearts of the people were gladdened by the arrival of the Rev. William Fish, a man to whom, under God, the cause of religion in Jamaica owes much. He came at a very needful time, for Mr. Brazier, whose constitution was entirely unsuited to a tropical climate, was then confined by sickness. On recovering a little, (but seeing no hope of being able to labour,) he, in a few weeks, finally left the island. Mr. Fish was thus left alone, and it appears that at first he entered on his work with much fear and trembling. But though the circumstances of the Society had been most

unfavourable, yet he found it, on the whole, in a much better state than he had expected. The number of members was one hundred and seventy-six, including some who lived on three or four plantations which had been visited with the light of the gospel.

From the departure of Mr. Brazier, Mr. Fish was without the assistance of any other missionary until July, 1794. He was able, however, to pay attention to Port Royal as well as Kingston; but, as in the case of his predecessors, his efforts there, were attended with but little success. The people who had disregarded the divine judgments, and would not learn righteousness by them, appeared to be as unwilling to receive the message of mercy. But in Kingston it was otherwise. The work of the Lord prospered in the hand of his servant, and a considerable number were added to the Society. The disgraceful interruptions of the public worship became much less frequent, and when they did occur they were discountenanced by the magistracy, to whom applications for redress were not always made in vain. On one occasion Mr. Fish obtained warrants against certain persons who disturbed a prayer meeting, and so well known was the sentiments of some of the leading magistrates, that they were glad to compromise the matter by paying all costs; on which the prosecution was dropped. At the June visitation, in 1794, the number of members amounted to 280; so that through the active exertions of Mr. Fish, the increase during the two years he laboured alone, was no less than 110. It is to be hoped that these persons were not only united to us, but also to the Lord.

On the arrival of Mr. Mc Vean, Mr. Fish left the Society in Kingston, and hastened to Montego Bay. This large town is situated in the parish of St. James, on the north side of the island ; and in its population is perhaps exceeded only by Kingston. Dr. Coke on two of his visits, had already preached there, namely in 1792, and also in 1793, which was the last time he visited the island. And although he was interrupted as usual by some of his congregation, yet there were a few in the place who shewed him great kindness, which, together with the numbers who attended his ministry, encouraged him to hope for success. Mr. Fish lost no time in acquainting the magistrates with the design of his coming and soliciting their protection in the discharge of his duties. They consulted together on the subject, and without much hesitation, it was agreed that he should preach. A large apartment which was used as an assembly-room, in which Dr. Coke had preached before, was immediately obtained. In this place he had large congregations, many even of the principal inhabitants attended, and all behaved with becoming decency.

After Mr. Fish had laboured for the greater part of a year in Montego Bay, a lamentable event occurred which partly occasioned his removal from the place. On the 6th of July, 1795, a dreadful fire broke out near the centre of the town. Most of the houses being framed or wooden buildings, the fire, which was fanned by a brisk wind, raged with the most destructive violence, and a great part of the town was speedily laid in ashes. Although, by the singular providence of God, none of the

houses of the Methodists were consumed, yet after this calamity no suitable place could be obtained for preaching; the assembly-room having been destroyed in the conflagration. At that time also, the Maroon war commenced in that neighbourhood, and Montego Bay was constantly exposed to danger. "These events," says Dr. Coke, "were unfriendly to the interests of the gospel. The attention of the inhabitants was entirely engrossed with retrospection and anticipation, behind them they saw the fire and before them the sword. The consequence was, that the congregation dwindled away, almost every mind seemed wholly absorbed in these disasters. Our worthy missionary therefore, after labouring among them a considerable time almost in vain, returned to Kingston, according to the discretionary powers entrusted to him."

It must not, however, be supposed that the seed which was thus sown by Mr. Fish was entirely lost. He had some seals to his ministry, who will be the crown of his rejoicing in the day of the Lord. A Society was formed consisting of twenty-three persons, and though no missionary was permanently settled in the place for twenty years afterwards, yet even to that time a few of the original members remained. Those joyfully hailed the return of a minister, and they constituted the groundwork of that large and flourishing Society which continues to this day.

During the residence of Mr. Fish in Montego Bay, the Kingston Society sustained a very great loss in the death of John H. Constant, already mentioned as having received the appellation of the Peace-maker. He was a

native of the island of Antigua ; a black man, but born in freedom. His mother was a member of the Methodist Society there, under the care of the Messrs. Gilbert, with one of whom he himself lived as a hired servant. His master taught him to read and write, and in early life he was under very serious impressions. Those impressions afterwards wore off, and he entered into the service of a gentleman in the navy, with whom he came to Jamaica, where he remained. He soon became conformed to the sinful customs of the country, but being brought under the ministry of Mr. Hammett, he was seized with deep convictions of his sinfulness and danger. Soon after this he obtained peace with God through believing, and was a steady member of the Society to the time of his death. His wife with whom he lived previous to his marriage, was, it is believed, the daughter of an African chief, who had been stolen from her parents, and was a slave at the time he was married to her ; but on that event he purchased her freedom, although the price he had to pay for it was one hundred pounds sterling.

He was a useful class leader for the space of five years. He was also frequently employed as an exhorter ; and was listened to on the part of the people with pleasure and profit. He was a serjeant in the Colonial Militia, which was composed of the greater part of the free persons resident on the Island. Being on permanent duty and engaged in the Maroon war, he had to endure greater fatigues than his constitution could sustain, which laid the foundation of that illness which terminated in his death. In his last sickness his afflictions were great ;

but his consolations abounded. On the evening of his departure, he desired that all who were in the house might be called into his room ; on which he prayed with them with great fervour. Having concluded, he clapped his hands, and with an air of triumph he twice exclaimed, “ Glory be to God ; ” and then quietly “ fell asleep.”

While Mr. Fish was in Montego Bay, his colleague took frequent excursions into the country with the view of obtaining permission to preach to the negroes on their respective estates. The Honorable Henry Shirley, at that time the Custos of St. George’s parish, and an extensive proprietor, having been friendly to the religious instruction of the slaves, readily permitted him to visit his estates of Spring Garden and Petersfield. On going to the former, he was much discouraged, as the white people turned into ridicule the idea of preaching the gospel to the negroes ; yet having obtained permission of the proprietor, he was nevertheless determined to accomplish his object. But his way was made far more plain than his fears had anticipated. A gentleman of great influence and respectability, namely, the Honorable John Scott, one of the members of the Council, happened to be there on a temporary visit, and having expressed his desire to hear the missionary, he preached in the great hall to all the white people on the property, and as many of the negroes as it would contain. The example having been set by Mr. Scott, the utmost decorum prevailed throughout the service ; all knelt at prayer, and appeared to listen to the truths delivered in the sermon with becoming attention. He afterwards made

repeated visits both to Spring Garden and Petersfield, and many of the negroes evinced a work of grace begun in their hearts. In May, 1797, which was only about ten months after his first visit, he was enabled to report fifty members on the former, and a considerably greater number on the latter. This was the first establishment of the work in St. Thomas in the East, a parish in which since that period the advantages of missionary labour have been so extensively diffused.

It is pleasing to record such instances of kindness and good-will to the Mission, as were manifested at this early stage of its history, on the part of the Honorable Messrs. Shirley and Scott. The former gentleman, in addition to his estates in St. Thomas in the East, and St. George's, possessed two in the distant parish of Trelawney; and such was his concern for the instruction of the negroes belonging to them, that he generously offered to build a chapel, a house for the missionary, and to give £100 per annum for his support, in order to accomplish this benevolent object. Those offers were sincerely made, and they afforded encouraging prospects for the time, but they were not realized. After this the higher classes became either decidedly hostile or totally indifferent to the labours of the missionaries. What led to this change shall be afterwards related.

In the month of August, 1797, Mr. Fish, who still remained at Montego Bay, received letters from Kingston, giving an account of the severe illness of his fellow-labourer, and earnestly requesting his immediate return. It has been already mentioned that several events

occurred which put an end to his flattering prospects where he was ; and though he remained for two years after the fire, yet he saw but little fruit of his labours, so that the application from Kingston left him no room to doubt as to the path of duty. He earnestly advised the free coloured and black members of Society, to go along with him, but they found themselves unable to do so. After giving them such advice and exhortation as were suited to their circumstances, he took an affectionate leave of them, commending them to the care of Him who was able to keep them from falling. This was a painful parting on both sides, but it was unavoidable.

On his arrival in Kingston, he found that during his absence his colleague had added about 190 members to the Society, exclusive of deaths, removals, &c., making the whole number in the town and neighbourhood to be 370. But at the quarterly visitation in September, he found that discipline had not been strictly exercised, and that many unworthy persons had been admitted and were suffered to remain. His fellow-labourer was zealous, but he did not possess the judgment and discrimination of Mr. Fish, and his frequent absence from the town on his laborious and successful visitations to many places in the country, might account for those irregularities. Mr. Fish was however forced to expel no fewer than fifty-one, of whom the greater part had neglected to attend the means of grace, but there were some who were also immoral in their lives.

The labours of this faithful missionary, were very severe. The reader may form some idea of them from a

letter to Dr. Coke, which was written about the end of September. He says:—"My regard for the people of Kingston is such, that I could rejoice in spending my last breath among them. Though I have so much work, that sometimes I scarcely know what to do first, yet it is all pleasant and delightful: and though constantly engaged in public or private, abroad or at home, from four in the morning until ten at night, I bless God I scarcely know what weariness is; so graciously has the Lord renewed my strength during my voyage from Montego Bay, and since my arrival here." Much of those excessive labours no doubt arose out of the peculiar circumstances of the Society at the time; for in such a climate as that of Jamaica, it would have been impossible for any European to have persevered in them to any lengthened period.

A pleasing feature in the character of the Kingston Society was manifested at that time, and deserves to be distinctly noticed. A contribution having been commenced on the Island with the view of assisting the Mother Country in that arduous struggle in which she was then engaged against France and other European powers, the Methodists were also desirous to do something in that cause. But they were far from being affluent, and their individual subscriptions could only at best appear but small in comparison with those of many of their more opulent neighbours. They therefore united their efforts, and by that means cheerfully raised the sum of £150, which they presented to the common object. Thus at this early period, they begun to shew that at-

tachment to their Sovereign and to Great Britain for which they have been distinguished ever since.

About this period there seems to have been some hopes of success even at Port Royal, and some time before, Mr. Fishley wrote to Dr. Coke as follows :—" I trust, through your assistance and advice, our present worthy minister will be able to give a happy account of his mission. He is in my opinion well adapted to it; as he is simple, loving, persevering with all faithfulness; sparing not himself. I hope he will soon have work enough to employ two or three more, for there are daily invitations for him to preach to the poor blacks from those who were not long since avowed enemies to all religion." Those prospects were of no long duration, and Port Royal settled down into the same state of apathy and indifference as before.

Towards the close of the year 1797 Mr. Fish was again left without a colleague; but in the following March, Mr. Alexander arrived to his assistance, and in a few weeks afterwards, Messrs Campbell and Fowler. There being now four missionaries on the Island, they endeavoured to spread the gospel in different places. Their attention was first directed to the eastern districts, and they went as far as Port Antonio, which is situated between seventy and eighty miles from Kingston on the north-eastern part of the Island, being the principal town in the parish of Portland; but their labours were not attended with success. In the district of Manchioneal, their prospects were more flattering. In that populous neigh-

bourhood they found some who appeared desirous of having the ordinances of religion, and they hired a house in which they preached to peaceable congregations. But this did not last long, there was no spirit of enquiry excited amongst the negroes, and the whites and free persons of colour who attended soon became dissatisfied with what were to them unpalatable doctrines; and the congregation fell away, so that the place had to be given up. Spanish Town was also again attempted, but they met with little either of opposition or encouragement; consequently it had to be relinquished.

In the month of May, 1799, Mr. Campbell went down to Montego Bay, and made application to the magistrates for permission to preach. But since Mr. Fish left that town a considerable change for the worse had taken place, and they peremptorily rejected his request. Mr. Campbell urged his being a licensed minister according to the laws of Great Britain; but this was disregarded, and seeing the door completely closed against him he returned to Kingston.

At no period of its history were the circumstances of the mission more trying to the servants of God than about the year 1799. They had, at much personal fatigue and reproach, visited many parts of the Island, and in some places they were refused permission to preach, and where they had such permission the people cared for none of these things. But they were not weary nor faint in their minds. In Kingston their labours were owned of God to the benefit of many, and on some of the estates in St.

Thomas in the East, they saw that they were not spending their strength for nought.

For some time the annoyance which had been formerly experienced in Kingston had considerably abated; but another disgraceful event, which occurred this year, shews that the spirit of persecution had not become extinct. One evening, near midnight, after the missionaries had long retired to rest, a number of ruffians broke into the chapel-house; but the police being called for, who were at hand, they suddenly decamped. It was however thought necessary for future safety to make an example of the principal person concerned in this daring outrage. He was a merchant in the town, who seemed to be desirous of recommending himself by shewing his zeal against the despised sectarians. A warrant was obtained against him, but when the case was brought before the Quarter Sessions, it was traversed until the court following; and at that time the missionary, who was the prosecutor, was taken dangerously ill, and having to leave the island the prosecution dropped.

After this nothing remarkable occurred, till about Christmas in that year. From the contrivances of the French, some of their countrymen in the Island had brought it into considerable danger. On the 22nd of December martial law was proclaimed; and Sas Portas, a spy, was detected and executed. His plans were completed, and he was about to sail, when the discovery of the whole was effected. When the Methodists were acknowledging the hand of God in this deliverance, all the out-houses belonging to the mission-premises were

taken possession of by the Militia, as a receptacle for French negroes, who were then in custody. In about four days afterwards, the chapel itself was seized, and converted into a place of riotous feasting. Complaints were made to the principal officers of the injury which was done to the premises, which they listened to and endeavoured for the future to prevent. The missionaries also, by orders of the general, had the use of the chapel on the Sundays. Some were however anxious that they should be compelled at that time to serve in the Militia; but through the kindness of Colonel Cockburn, who was an influential merchant in the town, they were not molested.

In course of this year Mr. Richardson arrived as an additional missionary. He was a young man of considerable promise, and entered upon his work with great zeal and diligence; but his work was soon accomplished, for in the space of seventeen days, during which he had preached four times, and once led a class, he was called from a life of suffering to that rest which remains for the people of God.

In the beginning of 1800, Mr. Alexander left the island, and the work devolved on Messrs. Fish and Campbell.* As there was nothing of great importance which transpired after this, until the persecutions which commenced in 1802, we shall conclude this chapter by an account

* Mr. Alexander is said to have left, because he had "fulfilled his engagements;" as to his term of residence. He had been about six years in the West Indies, but only two were spent in Jamaica. He was remembered twenty years afterwards only as having been the missionary who cut down a large tree which grew in the chapel-yard in Kingston.

of the numbers as they were reported at that time. On the Kingston Circuit there were about 500 members, and about 100 on the plantations in St. Thomas in the East. There were nine raised up in Kingston, who acted as exhorters, besides a considerable number of leaders who were very attentive to their duties, and successful in the discharge of them.

CHAPTER III.

Commencement of the Work in Morant Bay—Hon. Simon Taylor—Inquiry into the Laws of Jamaica respecting Religious Toleration—Intolerant Law of 1802—Imprisonment of Mr. John Williams in Morant Bay—Imprisonment of Rev. Mr. Campbell—Case of Mr. Campbell brought before the Kingston Assizes—Mr. Fish applies for “License” at the Kingston Quarter Sessions—Mr. Campbell afterwards applies—They visit Morant Bay for a similar purpose, but their application is rejected—A warrant for Mr. Campbell’s Arrest issued by the Magistrates—He is compelled to leave the Island—Law of 1802 disallowed by the King.

WE are now approaching to a very important period in the history of the mission, a period strongly marked with opposition of a far more systematic and formidable character than any which preceded it. There had indeed been a constant struggle from the very commencement; yet, though the opposers had always been amongst the whites, the higher classes, though generally unfriendly, manifested no disposition to persecution. It is true, an exception must be made in Montego Bay, where the magistrates refused Mr. Campbell permission to preach; but that is to be regarded as a departure from the general rule, and had no opposition arisen from a far more powerful source, that would neither have been of long duration, nor involved very serious consequences. That formidable opposition, which we are now going to relate, began in St. Thomas in the East, and as it was productive of a hostility which could hardly be said to

have ended until the passing of the Emancipation Act, it will be necessary to trace it to its proper origin.

In the month of April, 1802, some local preachers, who had been raised up in Kingston, visited Morant Bay, the principal town or rather village in the above mentioned parish. They were immediately followed by the missionaries, who obtained a house for preaching, and found many, both among the free coloured and blacks, as well as the slaves, willing to hear them. As usual they met with the same interruption in their public services as in other places; and, in addition to it, negroes were sometimes employed by their superiors, or hired, for the purpose of disturbing the congregations. But it was all lost labour; the cause of religion triumphed, and the success which attended the preaching of the gospel was quite unprecedented. By the month of July, a society of thirty persons was formed; which by November increased to ninety, and the work continued to advance with still greater rapidity. At that time the late Hon. Simon Taylor was Custos, or chief magistrate, of that precinct, and as he became the principal originator of that long opposition which followed, it will be necessary to say a few words respecting him.

Mr. Simon Taylor was a native of the Island, and in the course of many years had amassed prodigious wealth. He was proprietor of some of the finest estates in Jamaica, and attorney for many more, a situation which gives the power of removing any of the whites belonging to them at pleasure. Besides his being Custos of the precinct of St. Thomas in the East and St. David's, he

was a major-general of the Colonial Militia, a member of the Legislature, and no Colonist, either before or since, has possessed any thing like his extraordinary influence. As might be expected, an individual so prominent was the subject of much conversation on all parts of the Island ; and seldom has public opinion on any man been expressed with greater unanimity. In his private habits, he was invariably represented as being so degraded as to be almost perfectly brutish ; although there were two virtues for which he was celebrated. The first was, strict integrity in the management of estates committed to his care, and the second, his warm and efficient patronage of those who had the good fortune to enjoy his smiles. But his friendship was capricious and uncertain, and woe to that man who was not ready to serve him on all occasions, and from whom he might receive any real or imaginary slight. He was inexorably tyrannical ; a terror to almost every one, but loved and respected by none. His resentments were easily awakened, and when this was the case, he was universally represented as being absolutely implacable, or rather utterly diabolical. Few had the courage to oppose him in anything, for to incur his displeasure was accounted sufficient to blast the fairest prospects. He was also said to have been excessively avaricious, and notwithstanding his immense wealth, to have long trembled lest he should be reduced to beggary, and at last die in a jail. His death happened nearly forty years ago, and having been interred on a property which was afterwards sold, his ashes were exhumed, purchased by his ex-

ecutors, and were at last conveyed on mules to his estate of Lyssons, where this tutelar deity of Jamaica was buried "with the burial of an ass." It is to this unworthy man, whose memory has been long execrated, that the Island owes some of the darkest blots on its history. Had he been merely a private individual, no notice would have been taken of him in this narrative, but his public conduct cannot and ought not to be consigned to oblivion. It was under his direction that the magistracy about Morant Bay first assumed the attitude of decided hostility to the cause of religion. It was under his influence that attempts were subsequently made by the Legislature to deprive their fellow-subjects of their dearest rights; and to him many of those evils are traceable, which so long disturbed the Colony, and which did so much to blast the reputation of the colonists in the estimation of the wisest and best of men in the Mother Country.

Before proceeding further, it will be needful, in order that subsequent events may be seen in their proper light, to enquire a little into the laws of Jamaica respecting the great question of religious toleration. It seems to have been a prevailing opinion, both amongst the missionaries of that day as well as others, that what are called the Toleration Laws of Great Britain, or rather of England, extended to all parts of the Empire, and consequently to the West Indies. Nothing however could be more erroneous; and it is unquestionable that this notion was productive of much injury in the struggle against their formidable adversaries. It is not necessary

to touch the question, which has been so much agitated, as to the right of the Imperial Parliament to legislate for the foreign dependencies of the Empire ; but it must at once appear absurd to suppose, that an act of the Legislature at home, such as the Toleration Act, which does not even extend to all parts of the United Kingdom itself, should extend to the Colonies, without any declaratory clause to that effect. The Legislature of Jamaica never legislated on this subject until 1802, but their act was immediately disallowed. Various attempts were made at different subsequent periods, as shall be hereafter narrated, but no permanent law was ever established ; so that with the exception of those short interruptions, the law remained the same as it was before the act of 1802, down to the time of the passing the Act of Emancipation, which constituted the toleration laws of England the law of Jamaica. What the law of Jamaica was before 1833 is now to be the subject of enquiry.

As there was some degree of uncertainty, the missionaries at different times consulted with several legal gentlemen, who gave their opinions professionally; and as they all referred to a clause somewhat awkwardly embodied in a Jamaica Act, of the 1st Geo. II, that clause may as well at once be inserted here; which is as follows:—

“That all and every the acts and laws of this Island, which determined and expired the first day of October, in the year of our Lord 1724, and not hereby or by any former act of the Governor, Council, and Assembly now in force, altered, or re-

pealed, shall be, and are hereby devised and declared to be perpetual; *and also all such laws and statutes of England as have been at any time esteemed, introduced and accepted, or received as laws of this Island, shall, and are hereby declared to be, and continue laws of this his Majesty's Island of Jamaica for ever.*"

During the time the chapels were shut up and missionaries not allowed to preach, (which shall afterwards be duly noticed), application was made to Counsellor Hinchcliffe for his opinion as to what laws (if any) were in force, and whether the missionaries could legally require to be protected in their public duties. In his answer, he referred to the aforesaid clause (which was universally admitted to be the only statute which could have any reference to the question), and intimated, that as it was uncertain whether the old toleration laws of Will. and Mary, and 10th of Anne had ever been introduced in the Island before 1724, so it was consequently uncertain whether there was any law under which the missionaries could qualify; and he appears to have come to the conclusion that they could obtain no redress. In 1824, Mr. Burge, then the Attorney General, was consulted, as to whether the missionaries were bound to apply for licence to the Quarter Sessions in each parish, and if refused by the court, it was enquired, what was the remedy. The substance of his answer was, that the missionaries were undoubtedly obliged to apply in each parish, but in case of refusal the magistrates might be compelled by mandamus to admit them to qualify. The basis of that gentleman's opinion, was still the clause we have transcribed,

which he thought recognized the old Toleration Act of England ; but as he had only perused that of Will. and Mary, *and overlooked the 10th of Anne* ;* he was thereby led into the mistake, that the missionaries were bound to apply in each parish : parishes in Jamaica holding the place of British counties. In 1828 it was decided by the Supreme Court (but in the absence of the Chief Justice), on the opinion of Mr. Attorney General James, that by the aforesaid clause the acts both of Will. and Mary, and the 10th of Anne, were in force ; and the same opinion was substantially adopted several years afterwards, by the present Attorney General, Mr. Dowall O' Reilly, and confirmed by the same Court.

With due deference to the talents of those learned gentlemen, it is not difficult to perceive that, with the exception of Mr. Hinchcliffe, their opinions were perfectly erroneous ; and the conclusion which he seems to have drawn from the supposed uncertainty of the law, was as absurd as any of them.

Nothing can be more obvious than that the act of 1st Geo. II, only recognizes the old toleration laws, provided they had been "*esteemed, introduced and accepted as laws of the Island*" before 1724 ; and if not, they were of no force whatsoever. But it was well known that no minister out of the Established Church had ever attempted to qualify under the acts in question, until long after the date referred to. No Wesleyan or Dissenting minister

* That this was the fact, the writer is perfectly certain, from a private conversation he had long afterwards with that gentleman himself.

of any sort had ever officiated on the Island until long after 1724, and no one ever attempted for a moment to affirm the contrary. But supposing this to have been absolutely uncertain, how would this uncertainty affect the case of the missionaries? It was agreed on all hands, that by Common Law they had a right to officiate in their chapels; and therefore in the absence of any special statute, regulating or prohibiting such an exercise, they might worship God as they pleased; and in the peaceable discharge of such duties, they had a claim upon the magistrates for protection. Supposing, therefore, that any of the missionaries had been indicted by the Attorney General, (who is there the public prosecutor,) for preaching without license, so called, what would have been the result? As this by Common Law was no offence, would it have devolved upon the missionary to point out what was, or what was not, the law of the Island? Certainly not. The Attorney General could not have sustained his indictment, and the whole prosecution must have fallen to the ground. It is this that we have been endeavouring to place in the clearest light before the reader. No one knew any law to hinder the missionaries from the performance of their public duties. In fact *there was none*. The magistrates were therefore bound to protect them in the peaceable enjoyment of those privileges which are in a peculiar manner the birth-right of every British subject. The reader will now clearly perceive that every attempt on the part of the magistrates to prevent the preaching of the missionaries, was downright persecution, and with the exception of the short

periods in which certain Jamaica Acts were in force, as much contrary to the laws of the Island as to the law of God.

But to return to our narrative, such was the state of things in Jamaica until the sitting of the Legislature towards the close of 1802. At that session a Bill was introduced into the Assembly, entitled “An Act to prevent preaching by persons not duly qualified by law.” This passed the House on the 17th day of December. On the following day it passed the Council, and also received the sanction of the Lieutenant Governor, who at that time was Major General Nugent. A copy of this celebrated law is here subjoined: happy, however, to record the conviction, that such is already the altered state of feeling in Jamaica, that the day is at no great distance when all will be astonished that such an enactment should ever have been allowed to disgrace the annals of the nineteenth century. It is as follows:—

“I. Whereas there now exists in this Island an evil, which is daily increasing, and threatens much danger to the peace and safety thereof, by reason of the preaching of ill-disposed, illiterate, or ignorant enthusiasts to meetings of negroes or persons of colour, chiefly slaves, unlawfully assembled; whereby not only the minds of the hearers are perverted with fanatical notions, but opportunity is afforded them of concerting schemes of much public and private mischief: We, his Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lieutenant Governor, Council, and Assembly, of this your Majesty’s island of Jamaica, humbly beseech your Majesty that it may be enacted, and be it therefore enacted and ordained by the

authority of the same ; That from and after the passing of this act, in case any person not duly qualified and authorized or permitted, as is directed by the laws of this Island and of Great Britain, shall, under pretence of being a minister of religion, presume to preach or teach in any meeting or assembly of negroes or people of colour, within this Island ; every such person shall be deemed and taken to be a rogue and vagabond, and within the intent and meaning of this act, and be punished in the manner hereafter mentioned.

“ II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid : That it may and shall be lawful for any magistrate of the parish wherein the offence aforesaid shall be committed, on compliant made to him on oath, or upon his own hearing or view, to cause the offender to be apprehended and committed to the common gaol ; and shall forthwith associate himself with two other justices of the peace of the said parish ; and have authority to summon all persons capable of giving evidence to appear before them ; which three magistrates so associated, shall, upon due conviction of the offender, adjudge him, or her, if of free condition, to be committed to the workhouse,* there to be kept to hard labour, for the first offence for the term of one month, and for every subsequent offence for the term of six months each : and in case the offender shall be a slave, such offender shall be committed for the first offence for hard labour to the nearest workhouse for one month, and for every subsequent offence to receive a public flogging, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes ; provided always, that whenever the offence committed by a white person shall appear to be one of extraordinary heinousness, it shall and may be lawful for any one or more of the justices of

* The reader is requested to take notice that the term workhouse in Jamaica, signifies House of Correction.

the peace, and he and they are hereby required to secure the appearance of any such offender at the next subsequent supreme, or Assize Court, by sufficient bail or commitment to answer for the offence ; and on conviction, *to suffer such punishment as such Court shall see fit to inflict, not extending to life.*

“ III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid : That from and after the passing of this act, in case any owner, possessor, or occupier of any house, out-house, yard, or other place whatsoever, shall knowingly permit any meeting or assembly of negroes, or people of colour, for the purpose of hearing the preaching of any person of the description hereinbefore declared to be a rogue and vagabond, every person so permitting such meeting or assembly shall, on conviction thereof before the Court of Quarter Sessions of the same parish or precinct, incur a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds, at the discretion of the said Court, and be committed to the common gaol, until such fine be paid, and until the offender shall have given security for his future good behaviour, by recognizance for such time, and in such sum, and with such sureties, as the Court shall judge fit.”

It is truly humbling that any British general could have been found in the present century who would put his hand to such a document as this ; but Major General Nugent did it, and not only so, but with such haste, that on the very day it passed the Council it received his signature. It is perhaps well that his name does not stand out amongst those illustrious generals whose actions will adorn the annals of Britain to future generations ; for then this unhappy act might have tarnished his fair fame. But it cannot be concealed ; that before

the ashes of Abercromby had been well settled in the grave, and while the immortal Nelson was braving every danger for the liberties and glories of his country, General Nugent was sitting securely in the Government House of Jamaica signing persecuting laws, to crush the Christian minister, and to torture poor people, whose only crime was a desire to obtain the knowledge of salvation. The moment he signed the intolerant document, it became law; but that law could not become permanently established, till it received the sanction of the sovereign. Such a law might and did pass through the hands of General Nugent, but it never could pass through the hands of George the Third.

The consequences resulting from the new law were most deplorable, and it would be far more agreeable to cast a veil over them than to relate them. But they were of too public a nature to be hidden, and much too bad to admit of an apology. It had pleased God some time before, to raise up a gentleman of colour at Morant Bay, namely Mr. John Williams, to warn his neighbours to "flee from the wrath to come." He was a person of intelligence, of good education, of excellent character, and possessed of some property in the village. On perusing the Act which was published in the newspapers, he deemed it prudent to desist from preaching, until he should obtain license at the Quarter Sessions, which were to be held within a few days afterwards. On the 4th of January, he accordingly made application to qualify, but was met with a decided refusal. Two others from Kingston also applied at the same time, but they were con-

temptuously driven away by the presiding magistrate, who told them that they ought to be committed for having dared to address the Court. Seeing there was no hope, they became calmly resigned to their circumstances; but looking up to God for better days.

On the evening of the 5th January, a few of the friends assembled together, and lest they should give offence, they only sung a few hymns, and then engaged in prayer. On the following day, Mr. Williams who had been present, was apprehended and taken to the Court-house for summary trial, before five magistrates who had assembled for the purpose. The witnesses did not charge him with teaching, or preaching; and they all declared that they had never heard him advance anything of a dangerous tendency. But he had sung and prayed, and the Court decided, that those exercises amounted to the same thing as preaching; and passed sentence that he should be confined to hard labour in the workhouse, for the space of a month. The "hard labour" was however remitted, but the punishment of imprisonment was rigorously inflicted.

Mr. John Williams was the first prisoner of Jesus Christ on the island of Jamaica, and no one would have rejoiced more than the writer, could he have added, that none since that time have shared with him in the "glorious infamy." It deserves to be mentioned to the honour of the affectionate people of Morant Bay, that during the period of his incarceration, they sympathized with him in his suffering, paid him all possible attention, and were not ashamed of his bonds. He himself was all the while

kept in perfect peace ; and, by the blessing of God, he received no material injury to his health, although he was confined in a close room which was paved with bricks. At the end of the month, he was required to give security for his appearance at the Quarter Sessions to answer for another part of the offence. He had been already punished for singing and praying, along with a few of his friends ; and now it was demanded that, he should be bound to answer to the charge of doing so “ *in his own house.*” But he positively refused to be released on such conditions ; and he was liberated after having been confined a day longer than his sentence required.

On the tidings of Mr. Williams’s imprisonment reaching Kingston, Mr. Campbell hastened to Morant Bay. He tenderly sympathized with the suffering people, and would not forsake them while they were groaning under oppression. As a regular minister, and to use the words of the act, “ duly qualified by the laws of Great Britain,” he never suspected that his qualifications would be questioned. But he was mistaken. On the first evening he preached he was apprehended, and taken before Mr. Harris, a neighbouring magistrate. This gentleman appeared however to be perfectly satisfied with his credentials, and he was therefore allowed to depart. On remaining a few days longer, he was informed that it was nevertheless in contemplation to proceed against him ; and he therefore thought it the most prudent course to return to Kingston, to obtain the opinion of counsel as to the validity of his “ License.” That opinion being quite satisfactory, he immediately went back

to Morant Bay, and once more entered upon his labours. On the 7th of February he was again apprehended, and was taken before four magistrates, among whom was Mr. Harris, before whom he had been previously examined. He again produced his credentials, and also the opinion of his counsel in his favour. But the Bench decided, that by the laws of the Island, he was not duly qualified to preach. He then enquired what law of the Island was against his preaching? This, as has been already shewn, was an unanswerable question; and they only replied, "You may propose questions, but we are not obliged to answer them."

It is somewhat difficult to ascertain what was the precise intention of the magistrates, in the case of Mr. Campbell. No formal sentence was pronounced. The clerk however was ordered to make out his commitment, which they signed, and he was hurried to the same room which Mr. Williams had quitted only a few hours before. His imprisonment, while it lasted, was more rigorous than that of Mr. Williams. For a time, none but his own family were permitted to visit him, but his friends were as attentive to him as they could. Though they could not obtain admission, yet they came to the outside of the gaol, and through the iron grating of the window, he was enabled to exhort them "to hold fast their faith in the words of eternal life."

In a few days he obtained a writ of Habeas Corpus, and the case was brought before the Kingston Assizes, which were then sitting. The late Stephen Drew, Esq., who some years afterwards became a member of the

Methodist Society, was employed as Mr. Campbell's counsel. It appears, that what he advanced had great weight, and the Chief Justice expressed his satisfaction with the qualifications of his client. But the assistant judges were of a different opinion : and being a majority, the Court accordingly decided against him. Another hearing took place on the validity of his commitment, and it was proved to be defective, both in substance, and form. Again the Chief Justice leaned to the same side as before, but the assistant judges, as the majority, carried it against him. The sentence of the Court was then delivered to the following effect :—"That what Mr. Campbell's counsel had said, had *great weight*, but as his license had been already declared by the Court to be insufficient, and the magistrates of this Island were not so learned in points of law as those in England, and also considering the state of the Island, Mr. Campbell must be remanded back to prison." Thus it was adjudged, that the liberty of the subject must be sacrificed, only because the magistrates were ignorant of their duty. It may be here only necessary to add, that although a great part of what has been narrated concerning those transactions, has been taken from an account of them which appeared in the Methodist Magazine for February, 1804, yet the writer has often had the opportunity of hearing the whole fully corroborated, by credible persons, who were eye and ear witnesses, as well as by the late Mr. Campbell himself.

It may appear at first rather remarkable that the assistant judges, who are not trained to the profession of

law, should in such cases as the above so decidedly differ from the Chief Justice, who is always taken from the Bar, either of England or Jamaica, and more especially, as a difference of opinion on the judicial Bench was a rare phenomenon indeed. But their circumstances as men of business go far to account for their opposition. Those judges were for the most part unsalaried, and having been generally either merchants or planters, their stations were not favourable to the independence of the Bench. It is therefore more than probable that those gentlemen were much under the influence of Mr. Simon Taylor, who was the prime instigator of the whole business ; and not at all unlikely, that they were more or less directly dependent upon him : and it was a matter long after well known, and much talked of, that such was his determination to have Mr. Campbell punished, that he declared he would rather sell Lyssons estate (should that be necessary for the accomplishment of his object) than that he should be suffered to escape. Such influence as his was more than sufficient to turn the scale against a man of much higher station in the community than that of a despised and persecuted missionary ; and it may be added, that as far as missionaries are concerned, and indeed the honour of the Island also, it would have been much better if everything had been left to the decision of chief justices (at least for a period of nearly thirty years) without the encumbrance of assistant judges and juries.

There was also another cause which no doubt operated very powerfully against Mr. Campbell. Had the Assize

Court declared his license to be valid, or his commitment defective, then the magistrates of Morant Bay would have been liable to an action for false imprisonment, and there would have been no possibility of their acquittal, unless by such unblushing and notorious perjury as could hardly be expected. Thus his liberty was sacrificed that the guilty might escape.

From what had transpired in the case of Mr. Campbell, Mr. Fish perceived, that though he had been nearly eleven years officiating on the Island, yet he was equally liable to the same treatment. As considerable weight was laid at the Assizes on applying at the Quarter Sessions, he resolved to make such application, which he did in course of the following week. Having laid his letters of ordination and other credentials before the Court, after much hesitation his request was acceded to, and he was permitted to preach as before. Some of the local preachers also applied at the same time, but they were instantly rejected.

It will be needful here to pause for a moment, to call the attention of the reader more particularly to this proceeding on the part of Mr. Fish. It is not meant to insinuate any blame for his applying as he did at the Quarter Sessions. His were circumstances of peculiar trial and difficulty, and it is hard to conceive of any under which it becomes more the duty of a missionary "to meet even unreasonable prejudices," than those in which he was placed. But there was no law which required it; and it became a precedent, which though not universally followed, was yet productive of very unhappy consequences.

This was the origin of what was called the “licensing system;” and it soon led the magistrates to two very erroneous, but at the same time very mischievous conclusions. The first, that the power of granting or withholding permission to preach lay entirely with them, as judges of the qualifications of the applicant; and the second, that as each Court had no jurisdiction beyond the limits of its own parish or precinct, so it became obligatory on the missionary to apply in every parish or precinct in which he intended to officiate. Many instances of the injurious effects of this system will be seen in the following pages.

As Mr. Campbell was imprisoned in the workhouse of Morant Bay, he could not apply for license at the same time with Mr. Fish; but on his release he returned to Kingston, and at the ensuing Quarter Sessions he was admitted to qualify. This was a matter of great thankfulness to the people in Kingston. The local preachers were indeed silenced, and the leaders could not meet their respective classes, but the public ordinances were regularly administered, and the classes were met by the ministers with as much regularity as possible. This constituted their labour very heavy; but notwithstanding all their privations the Society prospered, and in the space of six months the number of members increased from 435 to 515.

Although the little flock at Morant Bay continued steadfast, yet they were all the while destitute of the ordinances of God. No minister was allowed to teach them the way of righteousness; and from what they had

already experienced, they were afraid to meet together for the more private means of grace. All that they could do, was to retire to the shady banks of a neighbouring river in little companies ; and there, concealed from the view of their adversaries, they poured out their souls to God in prayer. But as Messrs. Fish and Campbell had succeeded in Kingston, in July they went to Morant Bay, and presented a house to the Quarter Sessions, petitioning that it might be licensed for public worship. They also stated that they themselves had duly qualified in Kingston, but offered to take the oaths again, should that be required. Their petition was read, and returned with this short answer. "The magistrates are unanimously resolved to grant no license." The missionaries therefore could do nothing but commend their people to the grace of God. They could not advise them to attend the parish church, for at that time there was no minister. The church at Yallahs, in St. Davids, was about twelve miles distant ; but divine service in that day was very rarely performed in it ; and at the time the magistrates rejected the application of the missionaries, it may be said with truth, that there was no public worship at all of any sort between Kingston and Port Antonio ; a distance of no less than eighty miles. And even at Port Antonio itself, public worship was also a very rare occurrence.

But though the magistrates refused to grant them a license, they embraced the opportunity of issuing their warrant to apprehend Messrs. Campbell and Williams, on account of the penalty of £ 100, which, according to their interpretation of the law, they had incurred, for

having worshipped in a house of which they were the occupiers. This matter had been dropped for three months, and was now evidently revived to punish the missionaries for having the temerity to apply to the Quarter Sessions for license. In what followed Mr. Williams was not disturbed, but every effort was put forth to seize Mr. Campbell. He however got to Kingston, to which a constable was repeatedly sent to arrest him, but he escaped his hands. It is to be observed that although the penalty was great, yet that was only in his case the least part of the evil. The new law authorized the magistrates to demand such sureties for his good behaviour as *they should think fit*; and also to require them to bind themselves for such sums, as they should choose to appoint. If therefore he had been disposed to find sureties for such a purpose, he knew well that, as a missionary, he could procure none, but such as the magistrates could without any difficulty find the most plausible pretences for rejecting. There was therefore no alternative left, but either to subject himself to perpetual imprisonment, or to make his escape from the Island. He escaped accordingly, and arrived in London on the 27th November, 1803.

After the departure of Mr. Campbell, Mr. Fish was once more left without a colleague. The only place in which he could labour was Kingston, and through the restrictions of the new law his labours were necessarily very severe. But the number of members increased, though not with any very great rapidity. The Sunday services were indeed well attended, as were also his regular

morning lectures, but the want of other means of grace, and the efficient co-operation of the lay officers were painfully felt. In course of the year 1804, there were but few events which transpired to be recorded. The number of members was about kept up, but that was all. They were harrassed by reason of legal restraints; but they toiled, though in much sorrow, in the hopes that God would undertake for them. Their only expectations, under Him, lay in the well-known abhorrence on the part of the Sovereign, of religious persecution; and they fondly cherished a hope, that he would be pleased to disallow the intolerant enactment, and thus unfetter the consciences of his loyal, but persecuted subjects. Nor were their hopes cherished in vain. George the Third never could be a party to the persecution of his people. The "law" in his hands was soon consigned to the fate it deserved; and the heart-cheering event was announced in Jamaica, about the end of December, through the medium of the public papers; from which the following documents are extracted:—

House of Assembly, Dec. 12th, 1804.

“A MESSAGE FROM HIS HONOUR THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR
BY HIS SECRETARY:

“Mr. Speaker, I am directed by the Lieut. Governor to lay before the House, an extract of a letter from Earl Camden, dated Downing-Street, 7th of June, 1804, together with the draught of a Bill, which his Honour has been instructed to propose to the House to be passed into a law.”

“EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EARL CAMDEN
TO LIEUT. GENERAL NUGENT, DATED JUNE 7TH, 1804.

“Sir, I herewith transmit to you an order of his Majesty in Council, dated April 23rd last, disallowing an Act passed by the Legislature of the island of Jamaica, in December, 1802, entitled “An act to prevent preaching by persons not duly qualified by law;” and a further order of his Majesty in Council, of the same date, to which is annexed the draught of a Bill on the same subject, which in compliance with the directions contained in the said order, I am to desire you will take an early opportunity of proposing to the Assembly to be passed into law.”

“Ordered, that the above message and the papers sent down therewith, do lie on the table for the persual of the members.”

“*House of Assembly, Dec. 17th, 1804.*

“The above message and papers being referred to a Committee on the state of the Island. The House resolved itself into such Committee, and being resumed, reported resolutions, which were agreed to *mem. con.* as follows:—

“To send a message to his Honour the Lieut. Governor, to acquaint him, that in consequence of his Honour’s message of the 12th instant, accompanied with a Report from the Board of the Lords of Trade and Plantations to his Majesty, and an order of his Majesty’s Council thereupon; the House have naturely weighed the purport of the proposition recommended to them, to enact into a law the Bill framed by that Board, for the prevention of unlicensed preachers in this Island, but are of opinion, that any attempt made by that Board, or any other, to direct or influence the proceedings of this House in matters of internal regulation, by any previous composition or decision

on what is referred to, or under their consideration or deliberation, is an interference with the appropriate functions of the House, which it is their bounden duty never to submit to."

Such was the end of the intolerant Act of 1802. By the gracious interposition of the Sovereign, the people of God were again permitted to lift up their head. Their various means of grace, of which they had been deprived, were once more restored to them; and they felt a new impulse given both to their piety and loyalty, and were laid under a new obligation to connect the honouring of the king with the fear of God.

CHAPTER IV.

Arrival of the Rev. Messrs. Bradnack and Gilgrass—Departure of Mr. Fish—Building of a Chapel in Morant Bay—Preaching in the Parish of St. Mary—Morant Bay Chapel opened—State of the Kingston Society—Copy of an Ordinance enacted by the Common Council of that City—Consolidated Slave law of 1807—Imprisonment of Mr. Gilgrass—The Chapels are shut up—Arrival of Rev. Messrs. Wiggins and Johnston—Proceedings of the Kingston Corporation—His Majesty disallows the new Slave Law—Mr. Johnston preaches in Morant Bay, but soon afterwards leaves the Island—Act of 1810—Imprisonment of Mr. Wiggins—State of the Society—Arrival and death of Mr. Davies—Arrival of Rev. Messrs. Shipman and Bargar—Morant Bay Chapel re-opened—Mr. Shipman obtains “License” in Kingston.

ABOUT the same time that the disallowing of the law of 1802 was announced in Jamaica, Mr. Bradnack, who had been employed as a missionary in the Windward Islands arrived; and not long afterwards he was followed by Mr. Gilgrass. But the Mission sustained a great loss in the removal to England of Mr. Fish. He had laboured with remarkable diligence, prudence, and success, for the space of thirteen years. But being worn down with toil and anxiety, a change to his native country became indispensably necessary. But he was thus called to leave at a very critical period; for although one severe storm seemed to be blown over, yet a severer was then gathering. The calm was but of very short duration, and in the troubles which succeeded, the want of his judicious counsel and mature experience, was painfully felt; but while the history of the Wesleyan Mission to Ja-

maica shall be remembered, the usefulness of Mr. Fish in connexion therewith can never be forgotten.

The brethren entered upon their work with great zeal, and they soon found doors of usefulness opening to them in various quarters. The hinderances being removed, they quickly repaired to Morant Bay, and found that the Society in general had been steadfast in their Christian profession. After some time, the work continuing to advance, Mr. Williams generously presented the Mission with a very eligible and valuable plot of ground for a chapel and dwelling-house, which were speedily commenced under the superintendence of Mr. Bradnack. In this important undertaking he met with much encouragement; the people were liberal in their contributions, and assistance was also obtained from several benevolent persons in England towards the same object. Those measures attracted general notice; and before he had been twelvemonths on the station, under his ministry and that of his colleague, there was a clear addition of 200 members to that Society. They also made another attempt at Manchioneal, and for some time their prospects were encouraging. They met with great kindness from several respectable coloured persons, who resided on the Bay; and a small society was formed, consisting of six members. But the labourers were so few, and Manchioneal so distant from the centre of their operations, as that no adequate attention could be given to it; the work therefore dwindled away, and in a few years there was no trace of it remaining.

About the same time, they also extended their labours

to the northern parish of St. Mary, where they had many pleasing tokens of success. They preached at the house of Mr. W. Clark, a local preacher, and also occasionally on Job's Hill plantation; and at both places a number gave in their names as sincere seekers of salvation, and joined the Society. They were also successful in the formation of a small Society on Tremolesworth estate, in the same parish. This extensive plantation was the property of — Shreyer, Esq., a gentleman of colour, who at first granted the use of his large hall for preaching, and afterwards fitted up a house for that purpose. Through succeeding troubles, the members in St. Mary became scattered, and for many years preaching was discontinued; but as shall be afterwards related, the labour was not lost, and some of its fruits remain even to this day. Thus, in 1806, the fields all around seemed white to the harvest, and nothing appeared to be wanting but more labourers. With the exception of Port Royal, they had more or less success in every place where they preached; and at the end of the year, the number of members on the Island amounted to 832, making a total increase within that period of upwards of 200.

It has been already mentioned, that the erection of a chapel and dwelling-house had been commenced in Morant Bay. A long and severe illness of Mr. Bradnack occasioned a want of funds, and for some time the work languished. On his recovery, he addressed himself with much ardour to the accomplishment of this important object, contributions were solicited and obtained, and on

Sunday, the 26th of April, 1807, the chapel was opened by Mr. Knowlan, who had arrived about a month before. This edifice was a plain, or rather a rough wooden building, destitute of ceiling, and without a single ornament of any description whatsoever. Its dimensions were 50 feet by 40, and was so seated as to accommodate about 500 hearers with tolerable comfort. There were now upon the Island two regular stations, and three missionaries; and their plans were so arranged, as that one remained in Kingston, another at Morant Bay, while the third took excursions into the country.

It gives great concern to be forced to state, that in the course of this year many events transpired of a very unpleasant character. The unsuspecting missionaries seemed to fancy themselves perfectly secure, and in some measure to forget that they were in a community in which its most influential members were hostile to their labours, and most inveterate in their hatred to themselves. Wheresoever they went they were watched with untiring vigilance; and whatsoever was found in their conduct, which could by any possibility be construed, or tortured into evil, was done so accordingly, and extensively circulated to their disadvantage. It must also be acknowledged, that there were instances of imprudence which were but too favorable to the designs of their adversaries. It is indeed true, that not a single crime could with truth be laid to the charge of any of them; and nothing they ever did, would have been regarded in the mother country as amounting to anything

more than eccentricities, which would be readily excused in young men full of zeal, but comparatively destitute of experience. They did abstain from evil, but not in all cases from the appearance of it. They had the harmlessness of the dove, but they were defective in the wisdom of the serpent. It is therefore quite obvious, that under all the circumstances of the case, what was said against them, tended very much to the injury of that cause the good of which they had so much at heart.

At that time also the Kingston Society was grievously agitated by vain disputations and strife. It would have required all the prudence and experience of Mr. Fish, to have regulated and controlled them; but it is needless to say, that for such a purpose, his place was but imperfectly supplied by the young and inexperienced brethren to whose care the Societies were committed. The leaders' meetings, instead of being conducted with that admirable order and piety which had hitherto characterized them, sometimes exhibited scenes of confusion and quarrelling. They were often kept up until a late hour, while numbers of their adversaries were standing outside, attentively listening to all that passed, and eager to lay hold on every expression which might by any means be made to serve their purposes. At last a list of foolish and frivolous charges were got up by a small party against one of the missionaries; and he, at the first opportunity, read their names from the pulpit, declaring them to be no longer members of the Society. But as

some of them, who were thus aggrieved, were persons of influence, they resolved to have satisfaction in their turn ; and the next time he went intending to preach, they placed themselves at the foot of the pulpit steps and actually refused him admission.

This disagreeable state of things was soon checked, but in a manner the most painful and afflictive. God, in his wise providence, suffered his enemies to correct his church ; and though the remedy was sharp, yet by his blessing it was rendered in the end most salutary and effectual. It may be easily conceived, that the disallowing of the law in 1802, was productive of much mortification and disappointment ; and that it was very unlikely that the failure of one speculation, would discourage those who had embarked in it from making other attempts of the same kind. Long therefore before the disputes in Kingston began, (for they were only very recent) the enemies of the Mission were busily employed in concocting other measures to effect their purpose. This accounts for the external peace which had been experienced for about eighteen months. It was only a deceitful calm, and the clouds were secretly gathering for a more furious storm than ever. About the middle of the year, the missionaries received warning of what was about to take place. They were informed that the Common Council of Kingston had it in contemplation to enact a bye law, the operation of which would materially abridge their privileges, and militate against their usefulness. They therefore presented a respectful petition against its being enacted ; but though their petition was read, it was utterly

disregarded, and on the 15th of June, 1807, the following ordinance became law in Kingston:—

“Whereas it is not only highly incumbent upon, but the first and most serious duty of all magistrates and bodies politic, to uphold and encourage the due, proper, and solemn exercise of religion and worshipping of God. And whereas nothing can tend more to bring true devotion and the practice of religion into disrepute, than the pretended preaching, teaching, and expounding the word of God, as contained in the Holy Scriptures, by uneducated, illiterate persons, and false enthusiasts. And whereas the practice of such pretended preaching, teaching and expounding the Holy Scriptures, by such descriptions of persons as aforesaid, to large numbers of persons of colour, and negroes of free condition, and slaves, assembled together in houses, negro-houses, huts, and the yards thereunto appertaining, and also in divers lands and by-places within this city and parish, hath increased to an alarming degree; and during such pretended preaching, teaching and expounding, and pretended worshipping of God, divers indecent and unseemly noises, gesticulations, and behaviour, often are used and take place, to the great annoyance of the neighbours, and to the disrepute of religion itself, and also to the great detriment of slaves, who are induced by divers artifices and pretences of the said pretended preachers to attend their said irregular assemblies, whereby such slaves are continually kept and detained from their owners necessary employ and business and, in some instances, the minds of slaves have been so operated upon, and affected, by the fanaticism of the aforesaid descriptions of persons, as to become actually deranged: Be it therefore enacted and ordained by the Common Council of the city and parish of Kingston (the

Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council-men of the city and parish (or a competent and legal number or quorum of them being in Common Council assembled); and it is hereby enacted and ordained by the authority of the same, that from and after the first day of July next, no person not being duly authorized, qualified, and permitted, as is directed by the laws of this Island, and of Great Britain, and in the place mentioned in such license, shall, under pretence of being a minister of religion of any sect or denomination, or being a teacher, or expounder of the Gospel, or other parts of the Holy Scriptures, presume to preach, or teach, or offer up public prayer, or sing psalms, in any meeting or assembly of negroes, or persons of colour, within this city and parish; and in case any person shall in any wise offend herein, every such person, if a white person, shall suffer such punishment by fine not exceeding one hundred pounds, or by imprisonment in the common gaol, for any space not exceeding three months, or both; or if a free person of colour, or free black, by fine not exceeding one hundred pounds, or imprisonment in the workhouse for a space of time not exceeding three months, or both; or if a slave, by imprisonment and hard labour in the workhouse, for a space not exceeding six months, or by whipping, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes, or both; as shall be in those cases respectively adjudged.

“ And be it further enacted and ordained by the authority aforesaid, that no person or persons whatsoever, being so as aforesaid licensed or permitted, shall use public worship in any of the places within this city and parish, which may be licensed as aforesaid, earlier than the hour of six o'clock in the morning, or later than sunset in the evening, under the penalty of such punishment by fine, not exceeding one hundred pounds, or by imprisonment in the common gaol, not exceeding the

space of three months, or both ; as shall in that respect be adjudged.

“ And be it further enacted and ordained by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the first day of July next, in case any owner, possessor, or occupier of any house, out-house, yard, or other place whatsoever, shall permit any meeting of any description of persons, for the purpose of hearing, or joining in any such pretended preaching, teaching, praying, or singing of psalms as aforesaid, such owner, occupier, or possessor, being a white person shall incur, and suffer such punishment by fine, not exceeding one hundred pounds, or by imprisonment in the common gaol, not exceeding three months, or both ; or if a person of colour, or black of free condition, by fine not exceeding one hundred pounds, or by confinement in the workhouse for any space not exceeding three months, or both ; or if a slave, by confinement and hard labour in the workhouse for any space not exceeding six months, or by whipping not exceeding thirty-nine stripes, or both ; as in these respective cases shall be adjudged.”

It cannot be denied, but that some of the evils complained of in the preamble of this most intolerant enactment did exist, although not to any great extent. But the persons who practised such extravagancies were not under the care of the missionaries, nor had any connexion with them. But this law certainly increased the evils which it professed to deprecate and to remedy. Its restrictions amounted almost to a total prohibition of the slaves being religiously instructed by persons who were competent to that work. Hence many took to themselves the liberty which was denied them by the Common

Council, and attended to doctrines very different, both in their nature and effects, from those taught by the missionaries. Many of them practised a rude mixture of Christianity and paganism, and wild extravagancies certainly became more common. This was only what might have been expected, and was not traceable to the missionaries, but to those who opposed them; and in particular to the ridiculous, but persecuting enactment just transcribed. One can hardly forbear remarking, that it would be rather amusing to see the present corporation of Kingston perusing this document. It is composed of gentlemen of a very different description from what formerly belonged to it: and it certainly would cause a contemptuous smile on their part, to read over this wonderful piece of municipal legislation, the offspring of the ignorance and bigotry of their predecessors.

But the ordinance of the Common Council, was only the precursor of another law, still more intolerant in its principles and extensive in its operation, as well as disastrous in its consequences. In the month of October the Legislature was called together as usual by General Sir Eyre Coote, then the Lieutenant Governor; and at that Session the various laws for the government of slaves were consolidated, of which the two first clauses, which were then newly enacted, are as follow:—

“Whereas, it is for the public good, that all the laws respecting the order and government of slaves should be consolidated and brought into one law: may it please your Majesty that it may be enacted: be it therefore enacted by the Lieu-

tenant Governor, Council, and Assembly of this your Majesty's island of Jamaica, That from and after the commencement of this Act, all masters and mistresses, owners, or, in their absence, overseers of slaves, shall, as much as in them lies, endeavour the instruction of their slaves in the principles of the Christian religion, whereby to facilitate their conversion; and shall do their utmost endeavours to fit them for baptism, and as soon as conveniently can, cause to be baptized all such as they can make sensible of a Deity and the Christian faith;

“II. Provided nevertheless, that the instructions of such slaves shall be confined to the doctrines of the Established Church of this Island; and that no Methodist missionary, or other sectary, or preacher, shall presume to instruct our slaves, or to receive them into their houses, chapels, or conventicles, of any sort or description, under the penalty of twenty pounds, ^{for every} ^{slave} proved to have been there, and to be recovered in a summary manner before any three justices of the peace; who, or the majority of whom, are hereby authorized and empowered to issue their warrant for the recovery of the same; and on refusal of payment to commit the offender, or offenders, to the county gaol until payment of the said fine or fines; which shall be paid over to the churchwardens of the parish where the offence shall be committed, for the benefit of the poor of such parish.”

On an attentive perusal of the above clauses, the reader may easily discover the mean artifice which was resorted to on the part of those who framed them. They clearly saw, that under such a sovereign as George the Third, no law would be allowed, which as a whole, was intended to abridge the religious liberty of his people. They therefore embodied the aforesaid clauses into a law

or rather code of laws which had no natural connexion with the subject. But this code contained many improvements, and it was thought that all those would not be cast aside for the sake of the proviso in the second clause. It was also introduced with the show of ardent zeal for the instruction of the negroes; and especially that they might be trained up to the communion of the Established Church. But it is remarkable that those who were capable of so much tact, should yet be so ignorant as not to know, that every one might perceive that this zeal for the conversion of the slaves was only mere pretence. There are no specific duties they inculcate, no rules prescribed, in order to accomplish that object; and besides, it is a perfect burlesque upon legislation, a mere solecism, a law without a penalty to enforce it. But the second clause is specific enough, and in it the penalty is not forgotten. It was nothing less than an attempt to crush the missionaries, and to prevent the slaves receiving any religious instruction whatsoever.

While this law was under the consideration of the Legislature, a disgraceful event occurred in Kingston under the "ordinance" lately passed by the Common Council. The missionaries had been in the habit of occasionally meeting some of their people between the hours of five and six in the evening, for the purpose of instructing them in psalmody. On the evening of the 20th November, Mr. Firth, a missionary who had just arrived, introduced a new tune to which they listened a little longer than usual. At a quarter past six, the master of police, attended by a magistrate and some of the night guard,

entered the house, and apprehending Messrs. Gilgrass and Knowlan, were about to conduct them to the “cage;” when, on their calling for their hats, they agreed to let them remain, on the condition of engaging to meet them the following morning at the Court-house. It is perfectly plain, that all the movements of the missionaries had been carefully watched for the purpose of finding occasion against them. In this case it is to be observed, that the sun sets in Jamaica, in November, about half-past five; the police office was a third of a mile from the chapel; yet a police officer, a magistrate, and part of the night guard were all marshalled and equipped, as if to put down some alarming riot, and got to the chapel-house exactly at a quarter past six o’clock. Had there been any thing alarming, there would have been less promptitude. But they knew that they might make a show of danger, without the least fear of it; and that they might display as much courage as they desired against men, whose sole object it was to do good to their fellow creatures, and to live peaceably with all.

For a few days the matter was allowed to drop, but on the 26th, Mr. Gilgrass received a summons to appear at the Court-house, and answer to the charge of violating the “ordinance” lately enacted. According to the summons, he appeared on the 30th, and having been *found guilty* of the crime of singing a hymn tune after sunset, in his own house, he was actually sentenced to imprisonment in the common gaol, for the space of one calendar month. Mr. Knowlan was then in a state of ill-health, and on that account his share in the offence

was passed over ; and after Mr. Gilgrass had lain in gaol about a fortnight, the remainder of his punishment was remitted.

After Mr. Gilgrass had been thus liberated from prison, the new slave-law came in force ; and the magistrates, armed with the power invested by its second clause, summoned all the missionaries to appear before them, and demanded their authority for preaching. They urged their qualifications as licensed ministers by the laws of England ; but this plea was of course disregarded. They then applied for license from their worships, but the answer was “ Indeed you shall have none.” A short time before this, the magistrates at Morant Bay, acted in a similar manner ; and thus, in the end of 1807, both the chapels were violently shut up against the worshippers of God. Papists and Jews had as much liberty as they could desire, but his Majesty’s loyal Protestant subjects, could only “ hang their harps on the willows and weep while they remembered Zion.”

At the Quarter Sessions, which were held in Kingston in January, 1808, Mr. Wiggins, a missionary who had just arrived, applied for license. As usual, he produced his credentials received in England, but they were disregarded, and his application was sternly rejected. Mr. George Johnston, a missionary of great prudence, and who had laboured for a few years in the Windward Islands was sent to superintend the mission, under its then very painful circumstances. But although he brought letters of recommendation from gentlemen of the highest respectability in those Colonies, yet he was

unsuccessful. On his arrival, Messrs. Bradnack, Gilgrass, and Knowlan left the Island.

It cannot be doubted but that many fears were entertained on the part of the colonists, that the intolerant law of 1807 would ultimately share the fate of its predecessor of 1802. Plans were therefore concerted in Kingston to effect a general organization throughout the Island, for the purpose of extirpating the only hated sect which the power of the Legislature, the frowns of the Bench, and moreover bonds and imprisonment, could not annihilate. For this purpose Mr. Bradnack had undergone several examinations towards the close of the last year. His answers were carefully taken down; and a committee, who were appointed, drew up a Report, which they pretended was fully borne out by what had been elicited during such examinations. The whole of this document is too long for insertion, but the following passages are extracted, and submitted to the attention of the reader:—

“That it appears by the examination of Isaac Bradnack, hereunto annexed, that he is the principal of a set of ministers in this Island, sent out by a Society in England called Methodists of the Wesleyan connexion.

“That these ministers have been in the habit of preaching to persons of colour indiscriminately; of extending their connexion by societies all over the Island; and that such ministers, preachers, and societies, hold themselves amenable to the body of Wesleyan ministers in Great Britain.

“That such ministers, or preachers, have entered upon and continued their functions, without license from the magistracy,

and generally assert their right to do so, even in despite of the laws, and express regulation of the police.

“That it appears from said examination, that such ministers, or preachers, are forbid to hold slaves in their own right, or to intermarry with any woman having slaves to her belonging, who shall not previously have emancipated them by all lawful means.

“That it appears to the Committee, the introduction of a class of clergy to preach the gospel so qualified, is repugnant to the constitution and established laws of the Island in this respect, and should be discountenanced.

“That there is too much reason to believe universal emancipation is the object of the Wesleyan Methodists and their preachers, rather than the propagation of the gospel.

“That the conduct of these persons calling themselves Methodists and ministers of the gospel appears to your Committee not only to have been scandalous and indecent in the performance even of their religious functions, but unseemly, intemperate, and even threatening before the magistrates.

“That from an enquiry which your Committee has made, and particularly from documents annexed to this Report, whose authority is undoubted, the said preachers are in the habit of maintaining intimacies and correspondence degrading to their labour, (*according to the established opinion here*), not to say to the sacred character to which they pretend; and that they are so far from proper pretensions to such sacred character, that they appear in some instances to be taken from handicraft trades; and that the principal himself, before mentioned, appears by his correspondence, not to have even received the rudiments of a common education.

“Your Committee, therefore, upon the whole, take the liberty to recommend a communication with the different

parishes in this Island, in order that the organization of a most wicked system, which appears to have commenced, may be stopped before it is too late."

The above extracts constitute the greater part of the Report, and contain all the charges preferred against the missionaries. It is indeed freely admitted, that the Wesleyan Methodists disapproved of Colonial Slavery; and that their ministers in the West Indies, were not allowed to become the proprietors of slaves. But it was at the same time imperatively laid upon them to exhort all in that state to be "obedient to their masters;" and no evidence whatsoever is produced, of their teaching any doctrines at variance with that principle. It cannot be doubted, but that if their ever-vigilant adversaries had been able to prove any act of insubordination against them, or that anything which they taught was designed, or calculated to lead to it, it would have been done accordingly, and publicly proclaimed to their disparagement. But with the exception of general and unsupported charges, and vague insinuations, we find nothing of any consequence alleged against them. It is true, that they did "maintain intimacies and correspondence" with some, which, "according to the established opinion," might be considered as degrading. But in this respect, let their conduct be tried by a better standard than the "established opinion" of Jamaica, and what is here brought forward to their disgrace, will prove a noble testimony to their honour; so that on the whole, it may be safely affirmed, that the character of the missionaries came forth from the fiery ordeal of those inquisitorial investigations totally

unscathed. It has been already admitted, that as young men they did fall into some indiscretions ; but into none which could affect their reputation as Christians, or warrant those unfounded jealousies which were manifested by persecuting laws, and the exercise of tyrannical power. It is not, however, probable that they made any great pretensions to extensive scholarship ; and of their want of learning the Report complains most bitterly. But in this case who were their judges ? *Why a Committee of the Common Council of Kingston in 1808 !!* This is too bad ! It can hardly be thought of with gravity. The gentlemen composing the Common Council of Kingston of that day, were in no respect more learned than the magistrates and gentry of a neighbouring parish, who were in the habit of meeting at that very time once a month at the Court-house, for “ the *discussion of difficult subjects* ;” and one of the most difficult (as was confessed by a magistrate who took part in its discussion,) was the momentous question, “ *Whether London or Bristol tripe were entitled to the preference.*” The question appeared to be involved in much perplexity, and the disputants could not settle it. At last, however, though after much discussion, it was resolved, “ That the Bristol tripe was fatter than that from London.”

But though it may be allowed, that the missionaries had no claims to any very extensive classical or literary qualifications ; yet it is also to be observed, that even in respect of learning, they were able to bear a comparison with many of their neighbours. There were indeed exceptions ; but not a few of the clergy of the Jamaica

establishment were quite as uneducated as the men who were thus treated with contempt.

But to return to our narrative. The chapels having been both shut up, the missionaries were some time afterwards induced to lay their case before the Lieutenant Governor, Sir Eyre Coote ; but little could be expected from a man, compared with whom, even the white inhabitants of Jamaica were almost angels. On the failure of this, they did not make any other attempt until the 4th of May in the following year. They then presented a petition by counsel to the Kingston Quarter Sessions ; but it must be admitted, that had the magistrates been disposed to allow them permission to preach, it could only have been to free persons, not to slaves. But in fact there was no disposition ; for the petition was not only rejected, but an order was given from the Bench, requiring all concerned to carry the restrictive city " ordinance " into full and complete effect. Thus their last hopes were blasted, and they could only look up to God and the king for the removal of those restrictions which prohibited the exercise of their ministry, and denied to their people all access to the sanctuary of God.

In the meantime their friends at home were not unmindful of their most trying and oppressive circumstances. Dr. Coke, and the other members of the " Committee of Privileges " appointed by the Conference, were constantly watching for the arrival of the new law. But it was kept long on the Island, in the vain hope that the missionaries, harrassed by its restrictions and

worn out by disappointment, might be forced to abandon their rough, but not unfruitful field of labour. Application was made at the Colonial Office in March, 1808, but no such law had then arrived. A similar answer was returned in April, and even so late as August, "the same silence prevailed." But during that time the Committee presented a Memorial to his Majesty, humbly praying, that whenever the law might be laid before him, he would be graciously pleased to disallow it. Some time afterwards, the three denominations of Protestant Dissenters also sent a Memorial to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, praying for their interference for the same end. But months passed away after the presentation of the former, before anything was heard on the subject. But at last Dr. Coke received the following note, written by Earl Bathurst, on the 26th of May, 1809, announcing his Majesty's decision:—

"Lord Bathurst presents his compliments to Dr. Coke, and acquaints him that the late Act passed in Jamaica, in November, 1807, 'For the protection, clothing, and for the better order and government of slaves, and for other purposes,' was this day disallowed by his Majesty in Council."

Thus another artful attempt to destroy the religious liberties of the people was frustrated by the paternal interference of the Sovereign. Such instances of justice on the part of George the Third, entitled him to the gratitude of all classes of his subjects, and will cause his name to go down to posterity, loved and honoured, while

the virtues of a pious and patriotic monarch shall be duly appreciated and esteemed amongst mankind.

The tidings of this important decision were publicly announced in Jamaica in the month of August following ; and as there was no law to prevent their preaching, Messrs. Johnston and Wiggins applied to the Town Council in Kingston to re-open the chapel, engaging at the same time to confine their services within the hours prescribed by the City Ordinance. Their petition was read, on which they came to the following brief resolution, which was entered upon their minutes, viz.—“Resolved, That the prayer of this petition be, and it is hereby denied.” Thus, whether under colour of law or not, the Kingston Council were determined that the coloured and black population should not have the privilege of sitting under the ministry of the gospel.

But although they were thus rejected in Kingston, it affords great pleasure to say that they were successful in Morant Bay. The principal instigator of the opposition having been removed by death, there were a few gentlemen of intelligence who befriended the missionaries, although, the great majority of the magistrates were still hostile. Through the influence of their friends they were allowed to qualify at the Quarter Sessions ; and in July, 1810, Mr. Johnston went to Morant Bay, where he laboured for thirteen weeks with great success. The long and powerful opposition had not only taught the members to appreciate the value of Christian ordinances, but was also overruled, so as to produce in the minds of the slaves a more earnest desire than ever to hear the

words of eternal life. They therefore flocked to the chapel from surrounding estates; and during the time of his residence there, upwards of one hundred were added to the Society. On the removal of Mr. Johnston to Kingston, he was succeeded by Mr. Wiggins, who continued to labour until an event transpired which once more placed both the circuits* in the same circumstances as they had been, under the operation of the slave law, which his Majesty had disallowed.

It has been related in what manner the magistrates of Kingston proposed to the other parishes to unite, for the purpose of arresting the progress of what they were pleased to denominate, a “most wicked system;” and hence another legislative attempt was made during the Session of 1810, to effect that object, and another restrictive law was passed accordingly, and sanctioned by the Duke of Manchester, then the Governor of the Island. It was entitled, “An Act to prevent preaching and teaching by persons not duly qualified, and to restrain such meetings of a dangerous nature, on pretence of preaching and teaching.” This law, to which his Grace consented on the 14th of November, differed in several respects from its unfortunate predecessors; and in particular, it was only to continue in force until December, 1811; so that before the opinion of the Sovereign could be announced, it would be about expiring. Its framers,

* A “Circuit,” in the language of Methodism, embraces such contiguous stations as are placed under the superintendence of one minister; but two or more ministers are generally appointed to the same Circuit. On the Foreign Missions the term is sometimes applied to solitary stations, but such stations are very few.

however, knew that it would secure, at least, another year's opposition ; and in their estimation that was an important point, and might perhaps settle the whole business.

As the Act of 1810 is too long for insertion, we shall only transcribe a few of its clauses, that the reader may be able to form an opinion of its nature and tendency. In the commencement, it is provided, that no person shall be allowed to “preach to persons of colour and negroes, unless he shall first qualify himself for that purpose in the Supreme Court by taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, &c. ;” but by the second clause it is enacted,—

“That no person shall be admitted to take the said oaths, and make and subscribe the said declarations for the above purpose, who shall not appear to the judges of the said Court, to be a fit and proper person to perform the office of preacher, or teacher, to a meeting or assembly of persons of colour or negroes.”

By the fourth clause it is enacted,—

“That every person intending to make application at the Supreme Court, for permission to qualify himself to preach and teach as aforesaid, shall give notice of such intention in the Royal Gazette, the Gazette of St. Jago de la Vega, and Cornwall Chronicle, for four successive weeks, at least, previous to the meeting of the Court at which he means to make application: and also that every person intending to give into the Supreme Court a notification of a house, or place, meant to be used for preaching or teaching as aforesaid, shall give

notice of such intention in the Royal Gazette, the Gazette of St. Jago de la Vega, and Cornwall Chronicle, for four successive weeks at least, previous to the meeting of the Court at which such notification is intended to be given; and that the said Supreme Court shall appoint a convenient day during the first week of each sitting, for hearing and deciding on every such application or notification."

It is provided by the eighth clause,—

"That if on complaint made to the Supreme Court, and after hearing the parties and examination of witnesses on oath on both sides, it shall appear to such Court, that any person so qualified as aforesaid, is not fit to perform the functions of a preacher, or teacher, in such meetings or assemblies of persons of colour or negroes; or that such person has misconducted himself as a preacher or teacher, or has attempted to inculcate or disseminate principles subversive of the peace and good order of society, then it shall be lawful for the judges of the said Court, to declare such qualification of such preacher or teacher, to be from that time null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever."

By the ninth clause it is provided,—

"That in all cases where the Supreme Court shall refuse to admit any person to qualify himself, by taking the oaths and making and subscribing the declarations as aforesaid, it shall be lawful for the party grieved, to appeal to the Governor and Council, who upon hearing the parties, and examination of witnesses on both sides on oath in a summary way, shall make such order therein as to them shall seem proper, which order shall be final."

These extracts will be sufficient to give the reader an

idea of this Act. The other clauses are principally for the purpose of regulating the hours of worship, for prescribing penalties, costs, &c. It will be easily perceived, that there was no intention whatsoever, on the part of the Legislature, that the missionaries should be allowed to preach. Had the Chief Justice been disposed to admit them to qualify, there was every probability of his being out-voted on the Bench, as before, by the assistant judges; and an appeal from their decision to the Governor and Council would not, in that day, have afforded any relief at all. It seems, however, to have been the intention of Mr. Wiggins to make the experiment, but the magistrates of Morant Bay (the majority of whom, as has been observed, were still unfriendly) employed Mr. Hinchcliffe, the most eminent counsellor then on the Island, to oppose him. Thus all attempts were fruitless, and the people of God could only apply to the throne of grace, to be relieved from the tyranny of the oppressor.

Although the corporation of Kingston had for several years manifested the most inveterate hostility to the mission; yet, at the very time they were consulting with counsel to oppose the missionaries in the Supreme Court, they had the effrontery to ask for the use of the chapel, for the temporary accommodation of the free school. This request was however readily complied with, and the premises were so occupied from October, 1811, until the following August.

As the Act of 1810 expired at the close of the following year, and as no other had been brought before the Legislature, Mr. Wiggins resolved to open the chapel, on

the removal of the free school.* And on Sunday the 26th of August, he preached twice to large congregations, but within the hours prescribed by the city ordinance. Between the two services, one of the town-guard called at the chapel-house, and being introduced to him, said, "Sir, the police officer has desired me to warn you not to preach in the afternoon, at your peril." He replied, "Sir, tell the police officer, that the people will come in the afternoon, and that I shall preach if spared ; because there is no law of the Imperial Parliament, or of this Island, to prevent me." The congregation in the afternoon consisted of nearly 1000 persons, whose behaviour shewed that they had learned the value of a preached gospel, and felt its power. He preached to them with great comfort, and nothing remarkable transpired until the next morning, when two constables called at his house with a summons for his appearance before the sitting magistrates. From the beginning he fully anticipated the issue, and took the precaution of placing a family in the house to guard the premises during his absence. His trial lasted about two hours, but he was not allowed to speak for himself without almost perpetual interruption. The mind of the magistrates was made up ; and although there was not the shadow of a law against him, he was nevertheless sentenced to imprisonment in the common gaol, for the space of one calendar month.

During the period of his imprisonment many infamous

* The Governor had received orders to pass no law restrictive of religious worship, unless it contained a clause suspending its operation until his Majesty's pleasure should be announced. The assembly refused to legislate while such an order was in force.

attempts were made to blast his character, and to effect his expulsion from the Island. Amongst others, two abominable letters were basely fabricated, in order to make it appear that he was forming a conspiracy to murder the magistrates, and others who were hostile to his designs, and in particular to accomplish the emancipation of the slaves. Accounts of such fearful documents were published in the daily papers, but no pretended extract from the said letters ever made its appearance. In the meantime his imprisonment was very rigorous. His friends were not permitted to visit him, and all the indulgence in that way that was allowed, was the attendance of a faithful negro man-servant, who shared his sorrows and endeavoured to alleviate them as far as was possible.*

It must not be supposed that though the state of the Mission was most distressing, the work of God was standing still. Mr. Wiggins had been in the habit of visiting a small society in St. Thomas in the Vale, which had been formed a few years before; and as he was allowed to preach, the members increased both in grace and number. He was also instrumental in forming a Society in Spanish Town, a work which had been repeatedly attempted by his predecessors, but in which

* The name of the excellent negro who attended on Mr. Wiggins, was Thomas Wallace. He was then a slave, but hired at a certain weekly sum from his owner. He continued to reside with Mr. Wiggins, until the latter left the Island in 1818. At that time a number of the members in Kingston, united in a pecuniary contribution, to present him with a token of their respect and affection. It amounted to a handsome sum, but the generous and disinterested missionary refused to accept it for himself, but it afforded him the means of performing an act which ought not to be unnoticed. He purchased therewith his faithful domestic, and Thomas Wallace became a free man.

they were not successful. It is true in those places, it was but "the day of small things;" but there was already much to excite gratitude, and to encourage those hopes which have since been so delightfully realized. He also paid frequent visits to Morant Bay, and although he was not permitted to preach, he visited the members in their own houses, or met with them in small companies, exhorting them to continue in the grace of God. In Kingston the increase of members was far beyond any thing the Island had ever witnessed before. The chapel was indeed closed against the worship of God, but small meetings for prayer were held in almost every street and lane of the city. The imprisonment of Mr. Wiggins especially, "turned out for the furtherance of the gospel." The members actually, like the believers at Rome, "waxed bold through his bonds." The classes were regularly met by their respective leaders; the leaders' meetings were held every week at the chapel-house; and the blessing of the Lord was evidently upon them. The state of the Society in the city may be learned from a short extract of a letter from Mr. Wiggins, dated April 4th, 1813, and addressed to the Missionary Committee in London. He says, "in October, 1811, when the care of the Society devolved upon me, the number therein was about 560, which has increased since that time to 1723; and the people's growth in genuine piety and holy zeal, is I think in proportion to their number. We have upwards of fifty prayer-meetings, in which we sing as well as pray; notwithstanding we are not yet suffered to preach in our chapel. However we feel that

God is with us, consequently things must do well." Thus did the word of the Lord run, and was glorified, and all the efforts of the magistrates and police, to eradicate the obnoxious sect, amounted to nothing better than "beating the air."

Such was the state of the work in Jamaica, when, in the beginning of 1814, Mr. John Davies was sent out to the assistance of Mr. Wiggins. After a tedious passage he safely arrived in Kingston, and embraced the earliest opportunity of waiting upon the mayor and several other members of the corporation, whom he acquainted with his designs. Though few of them promised their support, yet they all received him with such politeness as to encourage the hope of success.

On the 13th of May the members of the Society agreed to implore the special blessing of God, by fasting and prayer, that he might be pleased to open the way of his servant for administering the word of life. The Quarter Sessions sat on the 17th; and a few respectable magistrates, who had become decidedly favourable, took their seats on the Bench. Mr. Davis appeared, and presented his credentials, and a majority being in his favour he was allowed to qualify. The principal persons who befriended him were the Honourable George Kinghorn, the Custos of the parish and mayor of Kingston, also Robert Smith, Esq., one of the city corporation, and John McLelland and William Savage, Esqrs., two of his Majesty's justices of the peace. For the kindness manifested by those gentlemen, both Mr. Davies and the Kingston Society, felt themselves to be deeply indebted.

The decision at the Quarter Sessions diffused joy and gladness through the hearts of thousands ; and of those, many who were hungering for the bread of life, were impatient to go up to the house of the Lord. But before it could be opened it had to undergo several necessary repairs: those being finished, on Sunday, the 3rd of July, the people of God again repaired to their holy solemnities, and once more the chapel echoed with the voice of joy and thanksgiving. It was indeed a day which called for gratitude and praise. For nearly seven years they had been deprived of their privileges ; and though they knew they had many powerful adversaries, they felt they were under the protection of the magistrates ; and looked forward to many happy Sabbaths, in which the house of God would be no longer closed against the services of his people.

But how short sighted is man ; and how unsearchable are the ways of God ! Mr. Davies had scarcely entered upon his labours, when he was taken to an early rest. In little more than three short months, this promising young minister sickened and died. On the 8th of October he was seized with yellow fever, and on the 13th he departed in great peace, joyfully declaring that "heaven was his." Mr. Wiggins, and the bereaved Society, by this event were plunged into the most inexpressible sorrow. The shock was both sudden and severe. Their fondest hopes were blasted in a moment. Their beloved pastor they had no doubt was happy with the Lord, but to what could they look forward, but to Sabbaths without public ordinances, and to their temple

which they would not be permitted to approach. But it was the Lord's doing, and they bowed submissive to his will; trusting that even that dark dispensation of his Providence, would ultimately conduce to the benefit of his church.

About five weeks after the death of Mr. Davies, the hopes of the people of Kingston were once more elevated, and their hearts gladdened by the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Shipman. Shortly after their landing, they learned for the first time that their predecessor was no more, and that the people he left, were again deprived of the means of grace. On coming to Kingston, he was informed that the Quarter Sessions had just finished, and consequently would not sit again until the month of February. He therefore lost no time in drawing up a petition to the Common Council, praying for permission to open the chapel, until he might be able to qualify, as (what was thought) the law required. But though he was received with great courtesy, and several gentlemen expressed themselves as being decidedly friendly, yet it was not thought expedient to grant permission, until he should be authorized by the Quarter Sessions. In the meantime he and his friends were adopting every measure which prudence could dictate; and very sanguine hopes of success were cherished. But, alas! a great majority of the magistrates were still hostile to the Mission; and those constituting the greater number on the Bench in February, the application of Mr. Shipman was rejected.

It was about this time that Mr. and Mrs. Burgar ar-

rived, who had the pain of witnessing the harrassing restrictions under which the Societies were still suffering. But as the way was open in Spanish Town, they went thither, until it should please God to remove the hindrances at Morant Bay.

In the meanwhile the circumstances of the missionaries were exceedingly trying. The only places in which they were allowed to preach, were Spanish Town and St. Thomas in the Vale. Those small Societies then assembled in dwelling-houses, which could accommodate but few hearers, while the two chapels of Kingston and Morant Bay continued shut up. In the month of July, 1815, Mr. Bugar applied for license at the latter of those places, but was sternly repulsed; and in a few weeks afterwards Mr. Shipman made another attempt in Kingston, but with no better success. Thus their prospects appeared to be still as dark and cheerless as ever.

On the disappointment of Mr. Bugar at Morant Bay, he returned to Spanish Town; but as the other was his intended field of labour, he renewed his application at the Quarter Sessions in October, and was successful. This was principally owing to the friendly offices of Thomas Thomson and Stewart West, Esqrs., two of the magistrates; while the Hon. Peter Robertson, the Custos, though scarcely favourable, manifested no opposition. Thus was Mr Bugar honoured as the instrument of reopening the chapel at Morant Bay, after it had been shut up (with the exception of one or two short intervals) for between seven and eight years; and thus where magisterial opposition first began, there also it

first terminated. From that time the missionaries were treated with greater kindness by the leading men in that neighbourhood than on any other part of the Island.

A very few weeks after the Morant Bay chapel was reopened, an incident occurred which at first threatened to put an end to Mr. Bugar's prospects of usefulness. A negro woman, a member of the Society, had died, and amongst her effects a Wesleyan ticket was found, with the motto, "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force." This got into the hands of one of the white officers of the property to which she belonged; and the fearful document was forthwith conveyed to a magistrate. All was now terror and alarm. It was thought the watchword of some dark but sanguinary conspiracy. A meeting of the magistrates and vestrymen was summoned to Morant Bay, and Mr. Bugar was cited to appear and answer. He found the majority in great terror; but at his request he was allowed to return to his house, to bring a similar ticket which his wife had received in England of the same date. On his producing it, their fears were in some measure allayed; and he was dismissed, after an admonition from the Custos to "preach the necessity of good works, but to say nothing about *faith*, for that was dangerous doctrine for the negroes." Lest, however, there should after all be a "rebellious conspiracy," the parochial militia were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for service at the shortest warning.

It has been stated that notwithstanding the restrictions

in Kingston, the work of God prospered amazingly ; but hope deferred made the heart sick at last. Mr. Shipman had applied at the Quarter Sessions in February and May, but both applications were unsuccessful. He resolved to make another attempt in August, which he did, and the result was as before. From that time the oppressed people gave up all expectation of relief; and symptoms of indifference became too apparent. The generality of the leaders were exceedingly disheartened; and their meetings, which had been all along well and cheerfully attended, were now almost deserted. It was plain to all, that under their privations the work could not be much longer maintained, and that without public ordinances the Society must soon dwindle away. Of the former there was no hope, and the latter seemed inevitable. Mr. Shipman was wearied with disappointment, and the state of the Society wrung his heart with anguish; and much as he loved the people, he resolved to make only one effort more, and should that also prove unsuccessful, then to leave the unpromising field. The Quarter Sessions sat in November, and while he went to the Court several of the leading members met at the chapel-house and engaged in prayer, that the Lord might be pleased to open the way of his servant. There was, at the instant of his appearing, a favourable majority on the Bench, and he was allowed to qualify. On that business being finished, he hastened home to his friends with the happy tidings, which for a time they could not persuade themselves to believe; and no wonder, for he scarcely believed them himself. “The Lord then turned their captivity,

and they were like' them that dream." He had suffered their faith and patience to be severely tried, but he had not forgotten them. He was better to them than all their fears; and when their night was at the darkest, he suddenly "turned the shadow of death into the morning."

CHAPTER V.

State of the work in Kingston and Morant Bay on the re-opening of the Chapels—A Society formed in the Parish of St. David's—Death of Mr. Bugar—Premises purchased in Spanish Town—Grateful Hill Circuit—Memorials to the Governor and Assembly—First District Meeting—Grateful Hill Chapel opened—Stephen Drew, Esq.—Arrival of Missionaries—District Meeting of 1818—Premises purchased for a second Chapel in Kingston—A Society formed in Manchioneal—Preaching in Bath—Unsuccessful application at the Quarter Sessions of Port Antonio—Mr. Shipman preaches in Falmouth—A Society formed in Montego Bay—Death of Mr. William Carver—District of 1819—Death of Rev. O. Adams—District of 1820—Death of Rev. Mr. Hartley—A Petition to the Magistrates and Vestry of St. Thomas in the East.

WHEN Mr. Shipman obtained permission to re-open the chapel, as has been related in the foregoing chapter, it was attended nevertheless with certain restrictions. It was an express condition that there should be no services held after dark, nor on any week-day, excepting at such times as divine service was performed in the parish church. This occasioned great privations; but the people submitted to them without a murmur, in the hope that such restrictions would yet be removed. Indeed they were abundantly thankful for what they had obtained; and on Sunday, the 3rd of December, 1815, (a day which ought never to be forgotten by the Methodists in Jamaica), the gates of the Lord's house were opened by the hands of the venerable Mrs. Smith. This act she accompanied with her prayers and tears; earnestly beseeching the Father of mercies that he would never more suffer them to be closed against his worshippers, by the hand of

oppression and intolerance. Her prayers have been answered; for from that day the chapel has never been shut up by the interference of the magistracy.

The house of God being once more opened for his service, the hands which had been long hanging down were at once lifted up. A spirit of holy zeal animated and quickened the leaders, and was indeed diffused through the whole Society. Mr. Shipman, who had been "sowing in tears, now reaped in joy;" and he continued to labour with much encouragement. The increase of members for the preceding seven years had been very great; numbers more flocked to the chapel, and its walls became too strait for the congregation. Many who could not obtain admission, sat in the large "band room" below; and an opening was made in the chapel-floor that they might hear, though scarcely any of them could see the pulpit. It was also about that time the Baptist Society first sent missionaries to the Island. On their arrival they found a large number of negroes called by their name, and they commenced their labours amongst them with every prospect of success.

On Morant Bay the ministry of Mr. Burgar was crowned with the special blessing of God. Before he went thither, the Society had been for some time under the care of Mr. William White, then a local preacher, but who had been recommended to the Committee at home as a person well qualified to be employed as a missionary.* Although

* Mr. White was accepted, and was admitted as a preacher on trial by the Conference of 1816. He was afterwards appointed to the Antigua District, and was one of the missionaries who were lost by the upsetting of the Maria mail-boat in 1825. He was a native of England, but brought in very early life to Jamaica, and from the time of his conversion was made extensively useful.

he had not been allowed to preach in the chapel, he was diligent in watching over the members, and in administering such instructions and advices as tended to their spiritual edification and improvement. Mr. Burgar entered upon his work with every advantage. The Society was united and prosperous, while several of the neighbouring magistrates manifested great kindness, and a number of the principal inhabitants attended his ministry. But the state of the Mission was such as to require his appointment to Kingston; and with a view to that arrangement, he applied to the Quarter Sessions in May for permission to qualify. The spirit of the magistracy was greatly improved; and after a very short consultation his request was unanimously complied with. Thus his way was open for the commencement of his labours in Kingston, when the time of his residence on Morant Bay should expire.

About that period a Society was formed in St. David's, a smaller parish, connected with St. Thomas in the East. The person who was instrumental in this work was Catherine French, afterwards Mrs. Harris, a coloured female of earnest piety, and remarkable for her uncommon zeal and intelligence. She was born in slavery, and belonged to a Mrs. Geoghegan, a white lady, who gave her her freedom in infancy, and brought her up with great tenderness. She joined the Society in Kingston; and possessing many advantages she became noted for piety and usefulness. After a number of years, her kind benefactress was under the necessity of removing from Kingston, and settling on a property of her own, called

Pomfret (in the aforesaid parish of St. David's), which was situated about eight miles westward from Morant Bay. The thought of separating from her religious associates was extremely painful ; but she felt she could not part from one to whom she was under so many obligations, who had brought her up with maternal kindness, and with whom she had resided from her birth. She therefore accompanied her, in the hope that the Lord would make her useful amongst a people who knew nothing of the way of salvation. She soon succeeded in forming a class of serious enquirers after religion ; and, to her unspeakable joy, was rendered instrumental in the conversion of Mrs. Geoghegan herself, who met along with her for religious exercises, and profited by her instructions. The house of that lady was now opened for the preaching of the gospel, and the hall was fitted up with benches for the accommodation of all who chose to attend. Pomfret became connected with Morant Bay, and was visited by the missionaries as often as their engagements would allow. This continued for two or three years ; when, on the death of Mrs. Geoghegan, the property was sold, and the house could no longer be so occupied. A temporary hut was however erected at no great distance from it, large enough to accommodate between two and three hundred hearers, and the ordinances of God were administered as before.

On the 15th of July Mr. Bugar left Morant Bay, for the purpose of entering upon his work in Kingston. It appeared that in that city the Lord had set open for him a great and an effectual door of usefulness ; and many

hearts were rejoicing in the pleasing prospect which they now saw set before them. But, alas, their joy was almost instantly changed into mourning; and the Lord in his wise providence saw it meet to take his zealous servant home to himself. On Saturday, the 20th, only a few days after his arrival, he was seized with yellow fever, accompanied with symptoms of the most alarming description. The best medical aid was immediately procured, and those alarming symptoms disappeared for a time, so that the most sanguine expectations of his recovery were pleasingly entertained: expectations which were soon disappointed. On the following Thursday, the fever returned with redoubled violence, and continued with but little intermission until the 1st of August, when he died in great peace, in the 28th year of his age.

Although the period of Mr. Burgar's residence on the Island was so short, yet, by the blessing of God, his labours were not in vain. The great head of the church had furnished him with talents for extensive usefulness; and he seemed to be especially qualified for Jamaica, a part of the mission-field requiring the happy union of no common degree of zeal and prudence on the part of the faithful minister. When he went to Morant Bay, in October, 1815, he found the Society to consist of 625 members; but the work of the Lord so prospered in the hand of his servant, as that during the time of his residence (which was only about nine months) he saw a clear increase of 327 members under his ministry. When he went to Kingston the whole number amounted to 952, of whom about seventy belonged to the little society at Pomfret.

It is also peculiarly pleasing to notice, that while he was so extensively useful in the Society, his prudent and zealous behaviour removed long-existing prejudices, and secured the confidence and esteem of the principal inhabitants of that neighbourhood. The tidings of his death were received by the magistrates and others with sincere sorrow; and at the first meeting of the vestry, they generously voted to his widow the sum of £100 sterling, as a token of respect for his memory, and their high estimation of the value of his labours. This was an act equally honourable to all parties. It shewed that the darkness of prejudice was fast passing away, and announced the beginning of a very different state of feeling in that part of the Island. Mr. Wiggins then removed to Morant Bay, and was permitted to “qualify” without opposition.

In the meantime, the work which had been commenced in Spanish Town, exhibited pleasing indications of prosperity. It is true the Society was still small, yet their congregations on the Lord’s day were larger in proportion than on any other part of the Island. This arose from the circumstance of the members being nearly all in a state of freedom: for very few of the slaves either in Spanish Town, or its vicinity, manifested any concern for salvation. And here let it be remarked, once for all, that such were the disadvantages of the slaves, especially those on estates, that when they were disposed to attend the house of God, and even when no obstructions were voluntarily thrown in the way, one Sabbath in four or five, was as much time as the generality could command

for the public ordinances of religion. This will account to the reader for the disproportionate size of some of the chapels, as compared with the numbers in Society.

The place of meeting in Spanish Town was small and incommodious ; and it was therefore resolved to purchase a large house, which was at that time advertised for sale. But the members were too few in number to raise an adequate sum without assistance, nor could they expect much help from the other inhabitants of the town. But in this embarrassment the Kingston Society generously presented them with £500 currency, which enabled them to accomplish their object.* The house was purchased accordingly, and was fitted up both for a chapel and preacher's residence on the same floor. Those arrangements being completed, the chapel was opened in the beginning of the following year.

The little Society in St. Thomas in the Vale continued to be visited as frequently as possible. In that parish, which belonged to the same precinct as Spanish Town, there never had been any serious opposition ; and in the absence of the missionaries, their place was supplied by two local preachers in the neighbourhood, who were allowed to officiate with very little interruption. Here also the number of hearers rapidly increased, and a more suitable place of worship became indispensably necessary.

* Here let it be noted, that the nominal difference between Jamaica currency and sterling is 40 per cent. But this does not include the premium on bills, which varies. The real difference is therefore greater ; and on an average £100 currency would not amount to much more than £60 sterling, *payable in Great Britain*. Contributions hereafter shall be given in sterling, reckoning £160 currency to be equal to £100 payable at home.

For this purpose two of the free members offered a choice of two different plots of ground, suitable for the site of a chapel and dwelling-house. The spot which Mr. Wiggins selected was exceedingly beautiful, and in a fine climate. It was named Grateful Hill; and the work was immediately commenced with all possible diligence.

A small but promising Society was formed, about four miles from Grateful Hill, in the northern part of the parish of St. Andrew, but near the boundary lines of St. Mary and St. Thomas in the Vale. This was principally owing to a Miss Hutton, a coloured lady, who had been a member for several years, and a person of great zeal and decided piety. Having purchased a settlement in that neighbourhood, her first care was to establish the preaching of the gospel, for the benefit of a dark and ignorant population, who had none to care for their souls. At that time the only houses upon her property were a few thatched cottages, the largest of which, together with a suitable piece of ground, she regularly settled for mission-premises. This cottage was repaired and enlarged, and was occupied as a chapel for a number of years; but not long after the Society was established, the generous donor departed this life, having been long loved and respected as a "mother in Israel."

The missionaries observing that their principles and designs were still much misunderstood, and much misrepresented; adopted the expedient of addressing memorials to the Governor, and the House of Assembly:

which they did in the beginning of November. They were received by the respective parties with courtesy, though nothing further was heard resulting from that sent to the Governor. But as the memorialists had expressed a wish to make the parties acquainted with their whole economy, Mr. Shipman was summoned in a few days afterwards before a committee of the Assembly; and was strictly examined on the doctrines, discipline, and objects of Wesleyan Methodism. His candid and ready answers appeared to give general satisfaction, and to no one more than the Honourable James Stewart, Custos of the extensive parish of Trelawney. This was the means of opening his way to the north side of the Island, where he laid the foundation of missions, which since that time have been eminently successful.

At the Conference of 1816, the various stations in Jamaica first appeared on the minutes, as a regular District; and Mr. Wiggins was appointed to act as chairman. The first District-meeting was held in Kingston, in March, 1817: there were then only four missionaries on the Island, namely Messrs. Wiggins, Shipman, White, and Ratcliffe; the last having arrived early in January. As this must be regarded as a new event in the history of the Mission, we shall subjoin the numbers of members on the various circuits as they were reported at the time; observing, that of the whole there were only twenty-five whites, and of the remainder upwards of two-thirds were slaves. The following is the official statement of the District:—

Kingston	2684
Spanish Town	77
Morant Bay	1246
Grateful Hill	144
	<hr/>
TOTAL	4151
	<hr/>

It may here be proper to remark, that the business of most of the foreign districts is much more complex than that which is brought before similar meetings at home. A considerable number of standing questions have to be regularly answered, which involve all details connected with the various circuits, both financial and religious. Accounts from all the stations have to be produced ; giving the most minute statement of all items both of income and expenditure, whether such stations may be dependent on the funds at home, or otherwise. The business of the Jamaica District has seldom occupied less time than a week, commencing at day-break, and continued with only two intervals (making an hour and a half) until three o'clock. It is part of the business of those Districts to express their opinion as to the appointments of the brethren for the ensuing Conference ; and if there be any alterations in the stations as fixed by the Conference preceding, the reason for such alterations must be specifically stated in their minutes. At the close of the whole the brethren take their departure for their new circuits, or to such as they may be appointed for the year.

At the close of the first Jamaica District-meeting, Mr. Shipman left Kingston for Spanish Town, and was suc-

ceeded by Mr. Ratcliffe; Mr. Wiggins returned to Morant Bay and Mr. White removed to England, by order of the Committee, where having been ordained to the ministry, he was appointed to labour in the Antigua district. The brethren repaired to their respective circuits, full of gratitude for what God had wrought out for them. The clear increase of members throughout the past year was no less than 944; and as they were expecting a considerable reinforcement of missionaries, their prospects were brighter than ever.

Nothing very remarkable occurred until the opening of the Grateful Hill chapel, which took place about six months after the District-meeting. This edifice was a frame or wooden building, but raised a few feet on a brick foundation. Its dimensions were 42 feet by 28, exclusive of the dwelling-house, which was taken from the west end; and though small, was not incommodious. The exterior was remarkably neat, and the noble and healthy situation was as imposing as can be well conceived. Standing in front of the chapel, on the top of Grateful Hill, the spectator might behold a most extensive prospect, which was limited by a chain of lofty mountains, and within their range, the whole had the appearance of an immense *valley of hills*. None of those eminences were higher than 200 feet; but many of them rose so abruptly, that for miles there was scarcely so much ground naturally level as would suffice for the site of an ordinary dwelling-house: but whether cultivated or otherwise, they were covered with vegetation, and presented a scene of extraordinary variety, magnificence,

and beauty. In that district there are no villages nor sugar estates. There are a few coffee plantations of considerable magnitude, but a great part was laid out in small settlements, principally belonging to free persons of colour. The neighbourhood was populous, and was inhabited by a people, many of whom gladly embraced the offers of mercy.

The establishment thus completed, was situated in the interior, about twenty miles north-west from Kingston, and in that part of St. Thomas in the Vale, known by the name of "Above Rocks." As there were no carriage roads in that district, the difficulty and expense of procuring materials were very great; and though many of the members were free, yet they were in general far from affluent. But they contributed to the utmost extent of their ability; and the people of Kingston again came nobly forward to their assistance, and presented them with a sum equal to what they had given a year before to the Society in Spanish Town.

In course of this year, Mr. Shipman, who was stationed in Spanish Town, was made mainly instrumental in the conversion of the late Stephen Drew, Esq. This gentleman was a native of Cornwall, and was brought up to the legal profession; and for a few years practised at the Bar in Jamaica. For some time, however, he had retired from that employment, and resided on an estate in St. Ann's, called Bellemont, which he inherited in right of his wife. Having been himself brought to the knowledge of the truth, he felt desirous of communicating

that knowledge to others ; and especially to the poor negroes around him, for whom no man cared, and who were perishing for lack of knowledge. For this end, he opened his large house, read portions of the sacred scriptures, and otherwise instructed all who were willing to attend. Mr. Shipman also went over and preached, and formed a small Society, which was the commencement of a work which has since occupied a very conspicuous place in the missionary annals of Jamaica.

At the Conference of 1817, Mr. Johnston was again appointed to Jamaica, as superintendent of the Kingston circuit, and chairman of the District. He had laboured for about fourteen years in the West Indies ; and his discerning mind, prudent conduct, and mature experience, well qualified him for the important station. A short time after his arrival, Messrs. Horne, Underhill, Hudson, and Binning, landed at Morant Bay ; and at the Quarter Sessions, which sat in the same month, Messrs. Horne and Underhill applied for license, which was granted with great cordiality. On this event, Mr. Wiggins, who had been long worn down with toil and anxiety, left the Island, after a painful residence of about ten years.

The second District-meeting began in Kingston, on the 2nd of March, 1818. The brethren reported favourably of the state of the work on their respective stations ; and the total increase of members amounted to 627. At this District the following appointments were finally settled :—

Kingston . .	Messrs. JOHNSTON and RATCLIFFE.
Spanish Town .	Mr. HUDSON.
Morant Bay .	Messrs. HORNE and UNDERHILL.
Grateful Hill .	Mr. BINNING.
Falmouth . .	Mr. SHIPMAN.

It has been already observed, that the Kingston chapel was insufficient to contain the increasing congregation. For some time, therefore, the Society had been preparing for an enlargement of their borders ; and they fixed their eye upon a spacious dwelling-house, which was then offered for sale. This building was in every respect eligible for their purpose. It was erected on a considerable plot of ground, in one of the principal streets of the city, and at a distance of half a mile from the Parade. The upper part was capable of being fitted up as a chapel, sufficiently large for a few years to come ; while the apartments below might be easily turned into a very comfortable residence for the second minister. At that time the Kingston Society consisted of about 2800 members, and above one-third were persons of free condition. There were indeed very few of them wealthy, but many were in respectable and easy circumstances ; and as their burdens for some time had been but trifling, compared with their number ; and their hearts being much in the work, they purchased the spacious premises ; and by the end of the year the chapel was opened by Mr. Johnston. To accomplish this important undertaking, the members in Kingston had to put forth every effort ; and, by the blessing of God, they were successful. It ought also to be mentioned, that they met with great

encouragement from many of the other inhabitants, who were favourable to their designs, and who rendered assistance with praise-worthy liberality. The amazing promptitude which was manifested in the whole of this work was surprising to every one ; and the building was presented at the Quarter Sessions for registration, before many thought there was anything in the reported intentions of the Methodists beyond mere rumour. When the application of the brethren was read to the Court, the magistrates were evidently astonished ; and one of their worships exclaimed, not in a friendly tone, “ How far are those people to spread ! How high are they to rise ! ” None of them, however, offered the smallest opposition. The chapel was seated so as to accommodate about 600 persons ; and the expense of the whole amounted to £1700 sterling ; but such were the zeal and liberality of the people, that the last instalment of the debt was paid in January, 1820.

Under the ministry of Messrs. Horne and Underhill, the Society at Morant Bay enjoyed extraordinary prosperity. A short time after the District, they visited Manchioneal, where the work had been attempted before, but without success. They were received with great cordiality by the free people, who rejoiced in the prospect of having the gospel preached amongst them. It was evident that the time to favour Zion had come at last : and a house, called “ Kendal Castle,” was rented and fitted up for preaching. A Society was speedily formed, consisting of the greater part of the free people on the Bay, as well as a number of slaves from surround-

ing estates ; and the change in their deportment manifested a real change of heart. As this place was nearly thirty miles from Morant Bay, Mr. Underhill took lodgings in the neighbourhood, and watched over the infant Society with great care. His work was much facilitated by the assistance of Mr. William Moodie, the son of one of the circuit stewards in Kingston. He settled in Manchioneal as a schoolmaster, and all who were able, sent their children for instruction, and many of them made considerable proficiency.

The district of Manchioneal, which is situated on the east end of the Island, is very extensive, comprehending many sugar, and other plantations, to which many slaves were attached. It is divided from the other districts of St. Thomas in the East by lofty mountains, and the character of its white inhabitants, as compared with the others, was then strongly marked. In Manchioneal they were very generally natives of the Island, whereas in the other parts they were chiefly emigrants from the mother country. It is not for the writer to say how far they deserved it ; but it is certain, they had more of the ridicule of their neighbours than their respect. For some time a number of them attended the preaching, but their puerile behaviour was very annoying to the congregations, and would not have been tolerated in other parts of the parish. Some of them were very bitter against the Mission, and to make a show of danger they took their muskets in the evenings, and paraded about the neighbourhood as sentinels. But as they were only laughed at by the more respectable parishioners, they

became tired of their police duties, and the work went on without interruption.

About the end of the year, they were also successful in commencing preaching in the village of Bath, so called from the hot springs in its immediate vicinity. This beautiful village is situated in the delightful valley of Plantain Garden River, and about ten miles from Morant Bay on the road to Manchioneal. The largest sugar estates in the British West Indies are in its neighbourhood; and many of the negroes were already members of the Society, although they had to walk to Morant Bay to attend the chapel. The leading gentlemen were friendly to the missionaries, and few places presented greater claims upon their attention than Bath. A very eligible house in the village was also offered for sale, which was capable of being converted into a permanent chapel, at comparatively little expense. This was purchased by Mr. Horne, who preached in it for some time, although no Society could be formed until about two years afterwards.

It may be mentioned here, that on receiving an additional missionary, Mr. Horne, early in the following year, went to Port Antonio, in the parish of Portland, with the view of commencing a mission there. This parish is bounded by the district of Manchioneal on that side; and what has been said of the white inhabitants of the latter, was equally applicable to the former. Their leading men were generally natives of the Island, and were accused of an affected pomp and ostentation of manners, which often brought, "*The in-*

habitants of the independent and virtuous parish of Portland” into contempt. Mr. Horne applied at the Quarter Sessions, furnished not only with the usual credentials ; but also with recommendations from some of the principal gentlemen in St. Thomas in the East. The Custos, who was highly respected, appeared to be quite favourable ; but one of his associates rose up with great dignity, and delivered a long and vehement harangue against the request of the applicant : this oration he concluded with the following bombast, accompanied of course with suitable gestures, and uttered with such a sonorous twang, as the reader may easily imagine :—“ Sir,” said his worship, addressing the Custos, “remember our beautiful establishment. Our beautiful establishment sir ! It is true, sir, she is not without her spots, but those spots only bring out her beauty the more. If you allow those men to come into this parish, then, sir, I say you will have *imperium, imperio !*” As a majority of the magistrates were unfavourable, but not wishing openly to oppose the Custos, they agreed to leave the whole matter *to the decision of the jury*. The jury therefore retired, and after some consultation, they returned the sapient verdict : “*That two religions could not agree in the same parish.*”

At the request of the Honourable James Stewart, of Trelawney, Mr. Shipman went over to that parish, which lies on the north side of the Island ; and commenced a mission in the town of Falmouth. Under the patronage of that influential magistrate, license was easily obtained, and also a commodious place for preaching. His labours

were also extended to Rio Bueno, a populous village about sixteen miles eastward, and he preached occasionally on the property of Counsellor Drew, in St. Ann's. No mission had ever been commenced on the Island under more favourable auspices; there was no opposition, and in Falmouth many of the whites attended his ministry. He was even allowed to preach and catechise on several estates; but with all these advantages, and the most indefatigable labour, few manifested any desire for salvation, and he saw but little fruit.

In the month of September, Mr. Shipman received the pleasing intelligence, that a few of the members still survived in Montego Bay who had joined the Society under the ministry of Mr. Fish, and were meeting for religious exercises along with a serjeant of artillery, stationed in that town. Being situated only twenty-one miles west from Falmouth, he paid them an early visit, and found a very general desire for the preaching of the gospel. At first he encountered considerable opposition from some of the higher classes, but it soon subsided and his want of fruit at Falmouth was in some measure compensated by his success at Montego Bay. Through the help of Mr. Jones a merchant in the place, he obtained contributions for the purchase of a large house for a chapel and residence. This object was accomplished, and the building was speedily fitted up for the purposes of the Mission.

The year 1818 was eminently peaceful and prosperous. There were seven missionaries on the Island, none of whom had met with any material obstruction in

the discharge of their important duties. But the whole District sustained no common loss in the death of Mr. William Carver, who had long been one of its most efficient lay-officers. That gentleman was a native of Hertfordshire, in England, and received a liberal education, having been intended for the ministry of the Established Church. About the year 1798 he went out to Antigua, under the patronage of Sir George Thomas, who owned estates on that island. He was shortly afterwards married to a lady whose father had been an officer in his Majesty's navy, but who had retired, and resided at Port Royal in Jamaica. After his marriage, he was providentially brought under the ministry of the Rev. A. Murdoch, one of the missionaries in Antigua, and became the subject of a real change of heart, which was in after life evinced by a course of no common zeal and usefulness. About the year 1803 he and his family came to Jamaica, at the request of his father-in-law, who was possessed of considerable property on the Island; but on his arrival he was grieved and disappointed to find him living according to the sinful course of the country. This occasioned a speedy separation between them; and from that time Mr. Carver had to come out from the world, showing that he had "respect to the recompense of the reward." Had wealth been his object, his varied talents, his liberal education, and uncommon energy, would have raised him to the very highest stations in Colonial society; but, although the Mission was then deeply depressed and persecuted, he "chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God,

than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season." He was the firm friend and judicious counsellor of the missionaries, who profited much by the benefit of his experience, and who had a large share in his sympathies and prayers. He filled, at different times, all the lay offices in the connexion, with great credit to himself and usefulness to others. He was the leader of three large classes; and under his fostering care many were raised up, who were ornaments to their Christian profession. In times, also, when the word of God was eminently precious, owing to the paucity of labourers, he occasionally visited the parishes of St. Thomas in the Vale and St. Mary; where, in private houses, he expounded the scriptures to small companies, who gladly received his instructions; and not a few, by his instrumentality, were "turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God."

For the space of fourteen years Mr. Carver had resided principally in Kingston, and was employed as a teacher of youth in a public seminary in that city; but owing to certain changes in that institution, he removed, about the beginning of 1818, to Morant Bay, where he was gladly welcomed by a people with whom he was intimately acquainted, and who had long known his worth. It was fondly hoped, that God had sent his servant for a long and useful service on that large and fruitful field of labour; but his health soon failed, and he was called to exemplify the graces of Christianity in suffering and death. His last illness was somewhat protracted, and his bodily pain was often very great.

But that God whom he had served did not forsake him. and the consolations of his Spirit proved quite sufficient for the trial. He had long honoured God, and now God honoured his servant, by giving him a glorious triumph over his last enemy. He died at Morant Bay, in June, 1818, in the forty-sixth year of his age, leaving hundreds, besides his own family, to lament their loss.

The District-meeting of 1819 commenced its sitting in Kingston, on the 16th of February; at which the increase of members throughout the year was found to be 703. As the Rev. Messrs. Adams and Hartley had arrived a few days before, no fewer than nine missionaries were present. Few changes had to be made in the appointments, only Mr. Binning removed to the north side to the assistance of Mr. Shipman, while Mr. Adams went to Spanish Town, and Mr. Hartley to Morant Bay.

At the close of the District-meeting, Messrs. Shipman and Binning repaired to the new stations of Falmouth and Montego Bay, with very sanguine hopes of success. As Mr. Binning was, however, refused "license" in the latter town, Mr. Shipman immediately removed thither, leaving the opening in Falmouth to be improved by his colleague. The house he had purchased was then completed with great diligence. The lower part, which was raised several feet upon a stone foundation, was converted into a chapel, and the preacher's residence was above. As much economy was observed as was practicable; yet the purchase and alterations involved such expense as a small infant Society was not prepared to meet, for which

Mr. Shipman was principally responsible. Great efforts were made in the town for procuring contributions, which were not unsuccessful, and some even of the white inhabitants rendered assistance. Among the early friends of this Mission, it affords great pleasure to mention the names of T. Guthrie and J. Manderson, Esqrs., the latter a gentleman of colour, of extensive influence, and who afterwards became Custos of the parish, and one of its representatives in the House of Assembly. But notwithstanding all their efforts, they were under great embarrassment, until the Kingston Society again came forward, and generously gave them a sum about equal in amount, to those given to the Societies of Spanish Town and Grateful Hill. This was a token of their love to the cause of God, and especially to a minister to whom they felt themselves laid under many obligations; but it was the more praise-worthy, as at that time they were exerting themselves for the liquidation of the debt on their second chapel.

In Falmouth the work continued in much the same state as before. Mr. Binning laboured without any interruption, but with as little success. A number of the respectable inhabitants attended his ministry, but no general impression was made on the minds of the negroes. He remained, however, until the month of September, when the death of Mr. Adams caused his removal to Spanish Town.

Mr. Adams, as has been observed, arrived in January; and in April he applied at the Quarter Sessions, and was received with great courtesy. A complaint of a very

singular nature was at that time made to the Court ; namely, of the annoyance of several young men of colour, whose rude and insulting behaviour caused great disturbance in the congregations. In the whole history of the Mission, this stands almost the only instance of the kind. The body of free coloured inhabitants, had always treated the missionaries with respect, and it is to their honour that they have uniformly attributed their subsequent elevation in Society to their labours and sufferings. Those in Spanish Town who were guilty of such indecorum, were only a few contemptible persons, the paltry mimics of the baser sort of whites, who (with a few exceptions in Manchioneal) had for some years disappeared from the Island. The magistrates at once intimated, that the congregations were under the protection of the Court, and they had only to complain and such grievances should be instantly redressed. From that time all disturbance ceased.

Mr. Adams was a man of deep piety and ardent zeal for the glory of God. During his short residence on the Island he laboured with success, and secured the confidence and esteem of the community in which he lived. He was seized with the prevailing fever on the 12th of August, and on the 18th his spirit was delivered from the burden of the flesh, to be for ever with the Lord. Mr. Johnston, who was present and witnessed his triumphant death, sent home the following account of the deeply impressive scene. He says,—

“With feelings of great sorrow, I hereby inform you of the death of our dear brother Adams. In the last stage of

his affliction, he was not able to bear the smallest disturbance, in consequence of his head being so dreadfully affected ; but his heart was filled with the peace of God in so glorious a manner, as to prevent his bodily pains from interfering with his happiness. He said, he had no hope of life, but felt his mind perfectly resigned to life or death, as God should think fit. My wife and self visited him again on the 18th, and found him evidently sinking. His head was so much affected with the malignant disease, that his reasoning powers were much interrupted ; but so far as he had power to think or speak, he gave evidence to all the attendants, that he possessed the joyful hope of eternal life. He often spoke in a kind of whisper, smiled, and pointed upward. At one time he imagined himself in the act of dispensing the Lord's Supper, and mentioned ' the body, and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ ' with great fervour. He was often engaged in fervent attempts to pray ; and at one time said, with peculiar emphasis, ' Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ. Glory be to God, I am built upon it.' About eight o'clock in the evening of the 18th, his happy spirit took its flight.

Mr. Adams was highly respected by many in Spanish Town, who did not belong to the Methodists ; and by none more than the Rev. Mr. Hamilton, the worthy rector of the parish. A very short time after his death, that gentleman presented Mrs. Adams with a sum amounting to nearly £100 sterling, which had been given by several respectable inhabitants as a proof of their high regard for her late husband. This, as has been observed in a case somewhat similar, was honourable to all concerned in it.

The year 1819 was very unhealthy, and the members of the Mission family had a large share of affliction. In addition to the death of Mr. Adams, Mr. Horne lost his excellent wife, who died in Kingston, on the 14th of August. Mr. Hudson was so broken with fever, as that it became necessary for him to leave the Island. He proceeded to St. John's, New Brunswick, where he died in great peace in course of the following year. Mr. Underhill was also so much debilitated, as to render it imperative on him to leave for a temporary change of climate. But though it was a year of great affliction, it was also a year of unprecedented success. At the District-meeting, which sat on the 9th of January, 1820, the number of members was found to be 6540, making the clear increase to be no fewer than one thousand and fifty-three. As several changes were necessarily made, the following is the list of appointments which was finally adopted:—

Kingston . . .	Messrs. JOHNSTON and HORNE.
Spanish Town .	Mr. BINNING.
Morant Bay . .	Messrs. RATCLIFFE and HARTLEY.
Grateful Hill .	<i>Vacant.</i>
Montego Bay . .	Mr. SHIPMAN.

Notwithstanding the sufferings of the preceding year, it pleased the Great Head of the Church, to try his servants with a few more severities. Mr. Hartley had scarcely recovered from fever, when he went to attend the District-meeting. On the business being finished, he hastened back to his circuit, but still in a very weak and languid state. He had hardly arrived, when he

was seized with greater violence than ever, and his life was soon despaired of. Medical aid was procured, and the attention of the affectionate people, was assiduous and unremitting. But all their efforts were ineffectual, and on the 29th of January, he died in peace, in the twenty-second year of his age.

Mr. Hartley was a young man of amiable temper and engaging manners. He was a minister of great promise, and was made a remarkable blessing to the people amongst whom he laboured. His death was felt as a painful bereavement. It happened at the time Mr. Underhill was departing for America on account of ill health; and left Mr. Ratcliffe alone, upon a circuit comprising four different stations, and those at the extremes were separated by a distance of nearly forty miles. Besides occasional visits, he could pay but little attention to any of them, excepting Morant Bay, which in itself was enough to require the undivided labours of a minister. The people in St. David's and Manchioneal were attentive to their classes, and other means of instruction; but the formation of the Bath Society was necessarily suspended.

It may be also mentioned here, that the parish of St. Thomas in the East, sustained another loss in the temporary removal of the Rev. Mr. Trew, the worthy rector. That excellent clergyman had been appointed about a year before, and heartily co-operated with the missionaries, in endeavouring to diffuse the blessings of Christianity amongst the unenlightened negroes. Before his removal, he had the satisfaction of witnessing increased

accommodation provided for them in the parish church, and also the commencement of a chapel of ease in Bath, which promised 'to be a great benefit to many in that vicinity.

A circumstance occurred during his absence which, as it shewed a spirit of liberality amongst the leading men in that parish, ought to be recorded. The clergyman who supplied the place of Mr. Trew, was an inexperienced young man, and of a very different spirit from the amiable and pious rector. It fell to his lot to preach at the opening of the chapel in Bath ; and although the Wesleyan-mission premises were purchased and occupied before a chapel of ease was thought of, yet he complained very bitterly that a "sectarian conventicle" should be allowed to stand so near the Established Church. In a few days, he drew up a petition to the magistrates and vestry, praying that the Methodists might be removed. Having obtained a few signatures, he attended the vestry accordingly, for the purpose of presenting it. On his mentioning a petition, the Custos enquired what was its purport ? On his replying, he was told that it could not be received ; and was advised to live in peace with his neighbours. He then requested that the document he held in his hand might at least be read. To this the Custos answered somewhat sternly, "It cannot be allowed : but if you want the Methodists out of the parish, your best way will be *to preach them out, and to sing them out, and to pray them out :*" and thus the puerile attempt was defeated. It may also be mentioned, that the Rev. Mr. Stainsby was almost immediately appointed as the

curate of Bath, than whom no missionary on the Island was ever more zealous in endeavouring to promote the spiritual welfare of the people.

Besides what has been related, there were very few incidents in 1820, which admit of being recorded. Although the labourers were so few, there was an increase of members on all the circuits, and in particular in Kingston and Morant Bay. Mr. Shipman continued to be well rewarded in the success which attended his labours on the new station of Montego Bay. A goodly number of the free coloured inhabitants attended his ministry; not a few joined the Society; and the congregation increased in piety and intelligence as well as in number. There was also a deep impression made on many of the slaves; and he had access to a few sugar estates on which he regularly preached and catechized. But preaching on estates has not been attended with that permanent good in Jamaica, which it appears to have produced on some of the smaller West India Islands.

CHAPTER VI.

District Meeting of 1821—Opening of the Bath Chapel—Success at Manchioneal—Sickness and death of Rev. J. E. Underhill—Death and character of the Rev. George Johnston—District of 1822—Opening of a new Chapel in Manchioneal—Prosperity of the Kingston Societies—Preaching at Stoney Hill and Port Royal—State of the Work in St. Anns and Montego Bay—District of 1823—Opening of a Chapel at Bellemont—Purchase of premises on Yellah's Bay—Opening of Wesley-Chapel in Kingston—District of 1824—Arrival of Missionaries—Death of Mr. Allen—Prosperity of the Work on the Stoney Hill Circuit.

THE District-meeting of 1821 commenced in Kingston, in the month of January, and was on several accounts a sorrowful meeting. There were only six missionaries present, including Mr. Underhill, who had recently returned to the Island. The brethren felt their late bereavements most accutely; and more particularly, as they beheld their small number quite inadequate to supply the wants of the existing circuits; and at that time there were several new places which required their help, for which they could do nothing. But it was a source of great comfort, that notwithstanding all their trials, the work of God was not standing still. The clear increase of members during the past year amounted to 520; which, considering their circumstances, was more than could have been anticipated. About a fortnight after the District, the Rev. Robert Young, together with the writer of this narrative, landed at Kingston, and were received with

great kindness by their brethren. The following were the appointments for the year:—

Kingston . . Messrs. HORNE and YOUNG.

Spanish Town . Mr. BINNING.

Morant Bay . { Messrs. JOHNSTON, UNDERHILL, and
DUNCAN.

Grateful Hill . Mr. SHIPMAN.

Montego Bay . Mr. RATCLIFFE.

The Morant Bay circuit having obtained its full number of missionaries, the work of God exhibited signs of uncommon prosperity. The intended improvement on the Bath premises was commenced, that the chapel might be finished and the Society formed as quickly as possible. The house which had been purchased, was a frame building, but elevated on a high stone foundation; and the wooden part being taken away, and the stone work raised several feet, a substantial chapel, measuring 42 feet by 36, was completed at comparatively little additional expense. As the village is situated about ten miles from Morant Bay, Mr. Johnston had to take many a hot journey, and to endure much fatigue in watching the progress of the work and furnishing materials for the workmen. But the whole was finished about the middle of June, and on Sunday, the 29th of that month, it was opened for the worship of God. The crowds who attended at the opening services were immense. Every spot within was occupied, and more than double the number stood without. It was thought that this building would be sufficiently large to accommodate the ordinary congregations for some time to come; but in

this there was a pleasing disappointment. As preaching on the Lord's day could not be given oftener than once a fortnight, for want of a full supply of missionaries, so during that time, those who attended on the forenoons were never all able to get within, unless at such seasons as the negroes from the country were prevented by the adjoining rivers, which in the rainy seasons were frequently impassable.

The formation of the Bath Society was a work of a very peculiar character ; and its difficulty arose principally from the greatness of the number with which it was begun. It has already been mentioned, that many of the negroes residing in that neighbourhood, belonged to the Society at Morant Bay, and that one object of the new station was, to accommodate them by superseding the necessity of their long journeys on the Lord's day. When the names were reckoned up which had to be transferred to Bath, it was found that they amounted to upwards of 800 ; and of those at least one-half resided beyond it. From this circumstance, the reader must be struck with the intense anxiety manifested by those poor people to hear the word of God. Before this arrangement was effected, the number of members connected with Morant Bay was considerably above two thousand ; and of those, all who were taken to Bath had to walk from eight to sixteen miles to the chapel, and also to return the same day. It is true, they could not attend often ; but it was not so much on account of the distance, as on account of those hindrances which their condition as slaves cast in their way : though it ought here to be

mentioned, that those hindrances were not increased by any hostility on the part of the principal white inhabitants. Many of them attended the services with great regularity, and not a few rather encouraged and facilitated, than prevented the attendance of their slaves.

Of the members thus taken to Bath, scarcely any were of free condition ; and as all resided at such a distance from the mission-station, none of them were at that time able to read. The obtaining of suitable leaders was therefore a matter of great difficulty, and the work fell very heavy on the missionary. But a few persons were found of deep piety and more intelligence than their neighbours, who were appointed to that office ; and the classes having been arranged according to the estates on which the members resided, they were watched over with much care, and it is believed, with equal success. Some time afterwards, a family consisting of three well qualified leaders removed to Bath, and the work went forward with less difficulty.

At that time there was also a remarkable spirit of hearing in Manchioneal. The congregations increased under every sermon, and many of the slaves attended from great distances. The house being by far too small, a canvass awning was erected outside, under the cover of which many could hear, and were thus sheltered from the sun or rain. But that also became insufficient, and a chapel was rendered absolutely necessary. For this purpose a plot of ground, most eligibly situated, was presented by Misses Agnes Grier and Hester Burke, two of the members ; but the building in Bath having

more than exhausted the funds, the brethren were in great perplexity. At last Mr. Johnston found a tradesman who was willing to undertake the work, and allow the money to remain until the Society might be able to pay it. His offer was accepted; and on the 7th of August the first stone of the new building was laid, to the great joy of many who assembled to witness that ceremony.

Thus everything went forward on the Morant Bay circuit with unprecedented rapidity, and never were there more cheering prospects of extended usefulness on any part of the Island. The long night of darkness appeared to be fast passing away; and never did Christian societies seem to be more thankful and happy. Such was their state, when it pleased Almighty God once more to turn the joy of his people into mourning. About the middle of September, Mr. Johnston became suddenly and severely afflicted, and there were serious apprehensions as to the issue, from the time he was seized. Mr. Underhill, who was then at a distance, on hearing the intelligence, hastened to his help; but had scarcely arrived, when he was seized with fever himself: and after an illness of six days he “ceased at once to work and live.” He died in peace, on the 24th of September, 1821, in the twenty-ninth year of his age.

Mr. Underhill was a young man well qualified for usefulness in Jamaica. His preaching, though not of a high order, was yet simple and scriptural, and well calculated to instruct and edify those amongst whom he laboured. He was well acquainted with Christian dis-

cipline, and in its exercise he was eminently successful. His bodily constitution was not strong ; and it is doubtful whether his residence on the Island was not the means of lengthening, instead of shortening his days. From the time he returned from America, he had resided almost exclusively with the little Society in St. David's ; and preached to them as often as his state of health would allow. He watched over them with paternal solicitude and affection, which were returned with an extraordinary degree of gratitude and respect. At his death, the bereaved people deeply felt their loss ; and while any of them survive, the memory of Mr. Underhill will continue to be blessed.

In the meanwhile Mr. Johnston was still confined to bed ; and though the first alarming symptoms had disappeared, yet his state was so very uncertain as to produce great anxiety. After the death of Mr. Underhill, he was removed to a neighbouring house ; after which he seemed better, and hopes of his recovery began to be entertained. But in a few days his disease returned with increased violence ; and on the 3rd of October, his medical attendants informed his friends that their last hopes were gone. He afterwards became delirious ; but at intervals his mind was calm ; and resting on the great atonement, he contemplated the approach of the last enemy, with a composure every way worthy of a Christian pastor. On the morning of Friday, the 5th, while his friends were commending him into the hands of the Redeemer, he fell asleep in Jesus, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and in the eighteenth of his ministry in the West Indies.

In many respects the late Rev. George Johnston was an extraordinary man, and ranks among the greatest and most successful missionaries ever sent out to those Islands. In person he was a very little under the middle size ; but his strong muscular frame seemed to be capable of enduring almost any labour. From early life he had made the Scriptures his chief study ; and few ministers possessed a more extensive acquaintance with the sacred oracles, or were better qualified for expounding them to others. His public discourses were studied with great care ; and while they were remarkable for clearness and simplicity, they were equally rich with evangelical truth. His manner of address in the pulpit was strong and vehement : his voice was harsh, and his pronunciation strongly marked with a broad Scottish accent. But in preaching, his placid countenance beamed upon his hearers with such a sympathy and kindness, as to possess a charm which was generally felt by all. "In labours" he was "more abundant," and was never surpassed by the most diligent of his brethren. His kindness to his colleagues was so well known as to become proverbial ; and, in general, it was returned with the most affectionate respect. He was so much loved, as to be readily obeyed ; and it was seldom he found it needful to have recourse to his prerogatives as superintendent, unless in sickly seasons, when he always insisted on his junior colleagues remaining at home, while he undertook their labour on the distant parts of the circuits. But for some time his strong constitution was evidently giving way, and he had to use unnatural efforts, as an

occasional stimulus, to preserve him from sinking into entire exhaustion. He had to endure much fatigue in connexion with the building of the Bath chapel ; and on one of his journeys he was slightly struck by lightning, which induced a paralytic seizure, from which he never fully recovered. His death spread a universal gloom over the whole community ; and the Missionary Committee, on receiving the mournful intelligence, caused a resolution to be inserted in their notices, expressive of the high character he had so long sustained, and their sorrow caused by his death. Mr. Johnston left the rich legacy of a holy example for the benefit of his brethren ; and it is to be hoped, that many of them have imitated him, as he had so closely and fully followed Christ.

In consequence of those events a special meeting of the preachers was held in Kingston. It was truly a sorrowful time, and they felt as a little family deprived of their head. A letter was immediately addressed to the Committee in London, setting forth the destitute state of the District, and earnestly imploring additional help. In the meantime Mr. Shipman was removed to the Morant Bay circuit ; and Grateful Hill, on which he had been stationed, was again left vacant.

The District-meeting of 1822, assembled as usual in Kingston ; and began on the 9th of January, and was eminently characterized by a spirit of harmony and brotherly love. The increase of members during the preceding year was 616, and the total number on the Island amounted to 7676. The brethren still lamented the paucity of their numbers ; but before the final termination

of the District, they had the pleasure of receiving Messrs. Crofts and Parkinson to their assistance; and they returned to their respective circuits, thanking God and taking courage. No change whatever took place in the appointments, only Mr. Crofts went to the vacant station of Grateful Hill, and Mr. Parkinson to St. Ann's Bay, where a small Society had been formed some time before. A house was there obtained for the use of the Mission, part of which was made into a neat temporary chapel, and the other afforded lodgings for the missionary.

At this District-meeting, Mr. Drew, of St. Ann's, who attended as a circuit-steward, made an affecting representation of the state of the negroes in the neighbourhood of Bellemont, where he resided; and desired that the Committee might be earnestly requested to send out another missionary. At the same time he offered to erect a plain chapel and dwelling-house, provided they were fitted up and furnished at the expense of the Mission. He was especially induced to make this offer, as there was some hazard respecting the title, which however he made as secure as he could. He also generously engaged to find board and lodgings for the missionary until the house might be completed, which would require some time. The Committee accepted this offer, and the building was begun as soon as their decision was known.

The new chapel at Manchioneal, which was commenced during the preceding year, was completed in March, and was opened by Mr. Shipman. Its dimensions inside were 40 feet square; was fitted up so as to accommodate nearly 500 hearers; and was also built so

as to be capable of enlargement at any time, without interrupting the religious services. The situation of this building is very fine. It stands in the immediate vicinity of the Bay, on the brow of a hill, elevated about 120 feet. In front it overlooks the sea, and in every other direction it commands an extensive and varied prospect. The chapel itself is a plain brick edifice, raised on a strong stone foundation, and its large arched windows gave it an appearance of neatness, superior to any other at that time belonging to the Mission.

On the day of the opening an immense concourse attended, and such a day of hallowed joy had never dawned on Manichioneal before. All hearts appeared to be filled with gladness, as a habitation was found for the mighty God of Jacob. Mr. Shipman was under the necessity of going to a distant part of the circuit, on account of the sickness of his colleague, so that there was only one service. At its close a collection was made to assist in defraying^d the expenses, which amounted to nearly £60 sterling, the largest which had ever been made on the Island at one time.

But this joyous day was far from being unaccompanied with sorrowful recollections. The people could not forget that two of their ministers were then mouldering in dust, who had been mainly instrumental in obtaining for them that which gladdened their hearts, and filled them with holy gratitude. They had witnessed the commencement, and watched the progress of the building; but before its completion they were removed to a "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

There was also another individual, in humble circumstances, who had long rejoiced in the prospect of that happy day ; but he was not permitted to realize his anticipations. The person alluded to was Robert Jones, who belonged to the Society for some years, and who came to Manchioneal Bay about the time it was first visited by Messrs. Horne and Underhill. He was a slave, but had been brought up to the employment of a tailor. He hired himself from his master ; and had to labour hard in order to raise his weekly demand, as well as to support his family. When the missionaries visited the place, none gave them a more hearty welcome than this excellent man, and no one more sincerely rejoiced in the success of their labours. He was the first leader in that Society, and the number of his members increased with extraordinary rapidity. He was of a very weak constitution, and laid down his body and charge together, in hope of that rest which remaineth for the people of God.

Under the able ministry of Messrs. Horne and Young, the societies in Kingston were favoured with a blessed revival of the work of God. This was principally amongst the free population, many of whom gave themselves to the Lord, and who since that time have proved steady and useful members of his church. A considerable proportion of those were young persons, and who had profited much, either directly or indirectly, from the labours of the missionaries. Not a few of them were the children of our own people, who had received such an education as was sufficient to qualify them, by the bless-

sing of God, for very extensive usefulness. The congregations at the new chapel increased so rapidly, as that it could no longer contain them with comfort ; and it was evident, that the time was fully come for the erection of that large edifice, which had indeed been contemplated from the beginning. The old building was therefore pulled down ; and on the 18th of July Mr. Horne laid the foundation-stone of " Wesley Chapel," amidst a vast assemblage of all classes. This joyful event, as well as the prospects of the brethren, is thus described in a letter written a few weeks afterwards by Mr. Young. He says : " The foundation-stone of our new chapel was laid in the presence of an immense crowd of people, who witnessed the ceremony with great interest. The building has since been getting rapidly forward, and many handsome donations have been received from this community towards its erection. Mr. Horne and myself have called upon the members of the corporate body, and other gentlemen in the city, and all have subscribed liberally, with the exception of a few individuals, who, we have reason to believe, did not withhold their favours from any hostile motive. I have also called on several gentlemen in St. Andrew's parish for their aid, and in not one instance have been refused. I have received very handsome subscriptions from both Jews and Roman Catholics ; and in that parish alone, obtained nearly £ 100 from the white population : thus is prejudice dying away."

During the time that Wesley Chapel was being built the congregations were subject to much inconvenience. No house could be obtained for their temporary accommoda-

tion, and therefore as many as could gain admission, were under the necessity of worshipping in the old chapel only. The band-room underneath was once more thrown open, but this was also crowded, and many were forced to go away for want of room. As might be expected, this greatly cramped the work, although the decrease of members was very trifling. But those disadvantages were more than compensated by the brethren extending their labours to other places, particularly to Stoney Hill and Port Royal. There being only one chapel open in the city, one of them was at liberty to visit the country; and by the blessing of God, they were rendered instrumental in forming Societies in both those places before the end of the year.

Stoney Hill is a considerable military station, on the Island establishment, and is situated about ten miles northward from Kingston, the road passing through the beautiful and extensive plain of Liguanea. The buildings belonging to the garrison are erected on the summit of the hill, between two and three thousand feet above the level of the sea. Besides those there are a considerable number of houses, which were inhabited by persons of free condition, and many sugar and coffee plantations in the vicinity, which contained a vast population of negroes. This was therefore a spot which pressingly invited the labours of the brethren; and the salubrity of its climate, as well as its population, rendered it very desirable that it should become a permanent station for the residence of a missionary.

The importance of Stoney Hill had sometime before

engaged the attention of the missionaries. The first who preached there was Mr. Wiggins, on his visits to the little Society in St. Thomas in the Vale ; but on account of the troubles of those times, and the extent of his labours, he was unable to attend to it or form a Society. This however was accomplished by Mr. Young, about the time of commencing the building of Wesley Chapel. Having called at a house on passing from Grateful Hill to Kingston, he intimated his readiness to preach ; and the offer being thankfully accepted, he returned in a few days, and addressed an attentive and serious congregation. Among them there was a considerable number of the soldiers, twenty of whom gave in their names, and expressed a desire to flee from the wrath to come. These he divided into two classes, which were increased by many of the free people of the place, as well as the negroes in its vicinity. In the following year, a house was purchased from a gentleman who was friendly to the Mission ; which, with some additions, was converted into a chapel and dwelling-house, to which Mr. Young removed, after his time of residence expired in Kingston.

It has been already seen that the town of Port Royal had been often visited by former missionaries ; but though they laboured with great zeal and perseverance, a general apathy prevailed, and there was little either of opposition or success. But at last the Lord appeared to open a door of usefulness, and the brethren entered into it at the earliest opportunity. In the month of August, Mr. Young attended at the Quarter Sessions, and applied for permission to preach ; and having been strongly recom-

mended by several influential gentlemen in Kingston, he was received with great cordiality. Permission was kindly granted, without the formality of taking the oaths, and not only for himself, but any other Wesleyan minister stationed on the Island. This was an instance of liberality, which at that time was quite unprecedented.

As the way was thus opened, a house was rented for preaching, part of which was prepared by the removal of partitions for that purpose, while two apartments were reserved for the missionary. This place was very uncomfortable, but it was the best which could be obtained, and the congregations exceeded the most sanguine expectations. A Society was formed, which by the beginning of the following year included thirty-two members; about one-half of whom were free. The missionaries were greatly assisted by Messrs. Butler and Hindle, both whites employed in his Majesty's dock-yard, and who had been previously connected with the Society. The former did not indeed long survive the commencement of this work; but the latter became a very efficient leader, and was zealous and useful for many years, when he was obliged to remove to another part of the Island. There was also a pious officer of artillery stationed in the town, who regularly attended the public services. In consequence of his example, several of the soldiers were induced to attend, and some of them were brought under a serious concern for the salvation of their souls.

It has been stated, that at the District of 1822, a missionary was appointed for the first time to the parish of

St. Ann. The house which had been obtained on the Bay, having been very comfortably fitted up, many of the principal inhabitants attended with great regularity and decorum. The labours of the missionary were not confined to the Bay; he also preached at the house of Mr. Drew, to a congregation which was composed chiefly of the members of his family, and a few of the neighbouring negroes. But there was a remarkable resemblance between the beginning of the work in St. Ann's, and that of Falmouth. There was no opposition, and many of the whites manifested some interest in the Mission, and contributed towards its support. But although there was no part in which the negroes stood more in need of the gospel, yet in no part did they manifest less concern for its blessings. There had been occasional preaching for several years, and a Society had also been formed. At the end of this year they amounted indeed to 125, but a number of those were free persons; and altogether the Society was but small, compared with the labour which had been bestowed: nor did the state of the congregations afford very great encouragement to look for immediate success. It pleased God in this instance also, to teach the missionaries that his work in Jamaica was to advance from the *least* to the greatest.

In the town of Montego Bay, Mr. Ratcliffe laboured with comfort and success. In the month of July, he observes, "That a great number of marriages have taken place among the free people of colour; and those who are acquainted with the peculiar habits of this country, cannot but view this as a most important step

towards the moral improvement of this class of society. Our congregations are becoming large and respectable, and the word of the Lord is glorified in the deep attention of all, and the solid conversion of many. I have often witnessed a more *rapid* work in other places, but a more *regular* and *genuine* increase of members, and of scriptural experience, I never beheld."

The District of 1823, began in Kingston on the 8th of January. There were eight missionaries present, and never on any former occasion did the state of the work call more loudly for praise and thanksgiving to the author of all good. The labourers, compared with the vast field which lay before them, were indeed but few; but it was matter of devout gratitude, that throughout the preceding year, none had been called away by death. The state of the Societies was unusually tranquil, and there was no violent opposition from without in any part of the District. In Kingston, it is true, they were still limited as to their hours of public service; but prejudice appeared to be daily passing away; and there was the utmost probability that all restrictions would be speedily and peaceably removed. The increase of members was also very cheering, amounting to no fewer than 818; and never since the commencement of the Mission, had there been a period in which it could be so truly said, "Then had the churches rest; and were edified; and, walking in the fear of God, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied." At the close of the meeting, the brethren partook of the Lord's Supper, and then departed to their

several appointments, which were finally settled as under :—

Kingston . . .	Messrs. HORNE and YOUNG.
Spanish Town . .	Mr. CROFTS.
Morant Bay . . .	Mr. SHIPMAN.
Bath	Mr. DUNCAN.
Grateful Hill . .	<i>Vacant.</i>
Montego Bay . . .	Mr. RATCLIFFE.
St. Ann's Bay . .	Mr. BINNING.
Bellefont	<i>Vacant.</i>

During the greater part of the year 1823, the state of the Mission presents little to be recorded. The Societies had peace in all their borders, and the brethren saw with pleasure that their labour was not in vain. In Kingston, indeed, no increase of members could have been expected, as there was no chapel room for many who already belonged to the Society. But unremitting attention was paid to Stoney Hill and Port Royal; and in those places the infant Societies grew both in grace and number. Mr. Young was much employed towards the close of the year in soliciting contributions for the premises purchased at the former place, and met with great encouragement from nearly all the leading gentlemen in that neighbourhood.

In the beginning of the year, Mr. Tremayne was sent out to the assistance of the brethren. He landed at Morant Bay, early in March; and in a few weeks afterwards, Mr. Thompson, an assistant missionary, arrived from the Bahamas. The former was sent to Grateful Hill, which for some months had been without

a resident minister ; and the latter, took the place of Mr. Shipman at Morant Bay ; while he, with his family, removed to Bellemont, to superintend the erection of the chapel which had been in progress for some time.

The Bellemont chapel was opened shortly after his removal, and afforded extensive accommodation for the inhabitants of the beautiful and populous neighbourhood. Its dimensions were about 60 feet by 50, and with the exception of Kingston, was the largest at that time belonging to the Mission. But though Mr. Shipman laboured with extraordinary zeal he saw but little fruit, nor was Mr Binning much more successful at St Ann's Bay. There was indeed an increase of members at the close of the year, amounting to about one hundred ; but by far the greater part of those were upon a distant estate on which they preached, while near the stations there was the most unaccountable indifference manifested by all classes. The state of the Society at Bellemont was thus described by Mr. Shipman. He says,—“The Society in this place has not given that encouragement during the year which might have been expected, considering their means of improvement ; however, the chapel being now open, and several strangers disposed to attend the ministry of the word, we trust that some of them will, after having given themselves to the Lord, unite themselves to his people.” Those anticipations were indeed ultimately realized, but not for a considerable time afterwards.

It has been mentioned that the little Society in St. David's continued to worship in a large thatched hut,

from the time they were under the necessity of removing from Pomfret. Its situation was by no means desirable, being in the midst of a thick jungle, and far from any considerable population; but it was the best which could be obtained, and incommodious as it was the people were thankful for it. About this time, however, the property to which it belonged was sold, and notice was given to remove. This produced great uneasiness, until they learned that a suitable house on Yallahs Bay, together with about three acres of ground was to be sold. This was the very situation on which the Society had fixed their eye from the beginning, but there were no funds in hand and the brethren were at a loss what to do. In this emergency, Charles Scott, Esq., of Retreat, hearing of their circumstances, generously lent the money without interest; and thus, beyond all expectations, a very commodious establishment was fitted up at the expense of very little more than £250 sterling.

In the month of December, Wesley chapel in Kingston, which had been upwards of a year in course of erection, was so far completed as to be ready for opening. This event, which had been long and anxiously anticipated, was realized on Sunday, the 21st of that month, when immense congregations assembled to hear the word of life. Mr. Horne preached in the forenoon, from Matthew viii. 33; and Mr. Young, in the afternoon, from Psalm cxxxii. 13, 16. Notwithstanding the crowded state of the chapel, the greatest order was preserved, and a holy influence accompanied both the services, and seemed to pervade every heart.

This spacious edifice is built for the most part with brick. Its dimensions are 84 feet by 74, and still ranks among the first class of chapels belonging to the Wesleyan connexion. In front, there are four pilasters of white stone, supporting a large moulding along the top, which is surmounted by a handsome balustrade of the same materials, but the side and end walls are perfectly plain. As its elevation is so great, compared with the houses of a tropical town, it has externally a most commanding aspect ; although there is much less of what is merely ornamental than in almost any chapel of its class in the mother country.

The appearance of the interior is more magnificent than commodious. The galleries run all round the chapel, but their elevation is so great as to require the pulpit to be raised to a most disagreeable height ; and in addressing the assembly, the preacher feels as if he were speaking to two different congregations. There are two rows of handsome columns, the lower supporting the gallery, and the upper from thence, supporting the roof. The front of the gallery is of mahogany, and its pews of cedar ; but the lower part is nearly all occupied with free sittings ; and from 1800 to 2000 hearers can be accommodated with the greatest ease. As there was very little of the work previously contracted for, the expense was much greater than had been originally calculated ; but the plan secured the best materials and the most substantial workmanship, and Wesley Chapel was unquestionably the noblest place of worship in the British West Indies.

Shortly after it was opened, a very false and exaggerated account of it was sent home ; for the purpose, it would seem, of making an impression on the British public, that their money, which was contributed to the support of missions, was lavished upon expensive and showy buildings. This malicious misrepresentation was published in the *New Baptist Magazine*, and displayed as little liberality on the part of the editor, as on the part of the anonymous correspondent. It was stated that the expense amounted to £ 30,000. This was untrue, for it was very little more than £ 9000, payable in Great Britain ; and, indeed, considering its dimensions and the expense of labour in Jamaica, it would be difficult to find any large chapel at home which cost so little money. Let it also be observed, that the Society in Kingston had nothing to do with the mission funds, only to contribute towards them, for they never received anything for their buildings, nor for the support of their ministry, at least for thirty years before. The cedar pews may strike the British reader as being very extravagant ; but he may rest assured, that in that climate where ordinary deal so soon decays, this was not intended for show but for economy, and was economical in reality ; and also he must remember, that Jamaica is the native soil both of cedar and mahogany, which are therefore much cheaper there than at home. It is not however denied, but there are a few ornaments which might have been dispensed with ; but those are not so numerous as in almost every chapel of the same class in England. There were two other good chapels finished on the Kingston circuit within six

years afterwards, and there is very little debt remaining upon any of them.

At the District of 1824, the increase of members amounted to 551; which, considering the want of accommodation in the city, was fully as many as had been anticipated. The only changes in the appointments which took place were between Messrs. Shipman and Horne, the latter removing to Morant Bay, the former took his place in Kingston. The brethren were once more thankful to find, that throughout the preceding year, their number had not been lessened by death; and they went to their circuits, lamenting indeed, as usual, that their number was so small, but looking for additional help which was daily expected.

In the month of March, Messrs. Jenkins, Whitehouse and Allen, arrived at Morant Bay. Mr. Jenkins was appointed to Grateful Hill, Mr. Whitehouse to Montego Bay, Mr. Ratcliffe removed to Falmouth, and also to take charge of St. Ann's Bay, and Mr. Binning succeeded Mr. Young in Kingston. The arrival of the above brethren was a cause of great joy and gratitude; but in less than a month their joy was turned into sorrow through the death of Mr. Henry Allen, whom it pleased God to call to an early reward, after having lived only three weeks on the Island.

Mr. Allen was a most amiable and pious young man, but was occasionally so much subject to mental depression, as to cause uneasiness respecting him from the time of his landing. After a few days residence at Morant Bay, he went down to Kingston along with his

companions, but he had scarcely arrived there before he showed symptoms of an inflammatory complaint. Although there was nothing which appeared serious, it was thought expedient to remove him to a neighbouring estate, where the air is delightfully cool and pleasant. On the first or second night of his visit, there was a smart shock of earthquake, which happened shortly after he had retired to rest. This so alarmed him, that he got out of bed and sat in his room for a considerable time almost undressed. From this he caught cold, and appeared in the morning so much worse, as that it was judged necessary for him to return to Kingston. The best medical aid was procured, and all other means were used for his recovery ; but the fever increased until the 17th of April, when he expired in the full triumph of faith. During the first part of his illness, he was grievously tempted by his unwearied enemy ; but through Christ, he was made more than conqueror. A little before his departure, he said, "The Lord hath not sent me to Jamaica to labour, but to praise him ;" and a short time after, he raised his hand and waving it in token of victory, he exclaimed, "Praise ! Praise ! Praise !" and then calmly fell asleep in Jesus.

On the removal of Mr. Binning to Kingston, Mr. Young went, according to his appointment, to Stoney Hill ; and had there the pleasure of seeing his labours attended with great success, on a station which he had been mainly instrumental in establishing. During the time of his residence there, he visited several estates where he regularly preached and catechized. He also formed

another Society, about ten miles westward from Stoney Hill, in a mountainous part of the same parish, known by the name of Red Hills. On the circuit, before the end of the year, nearly three hundred persons had been either received as members, or had been admitted on trial; and though a number of those afterwards drew back, yet not a few continued stedfast in their Christian profession. But while the work of God was thus prospering, a storm was already gathering, of which an account shall be given in the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

Opposition in 1824—District Meeting of 1825—Sunday Schools—Preaching in Falmouth—Missionary Societies formed—District of 1826—Formation of the Auxiliary Missionary Society for the Jamaica District—Death and Character of Miss Raester—Week-night services in Kingston—Arrival and departure of Missionaries—A Society formed in Port Antonio—Intolerant clauses in the Slave-law of 1826.

THE reader cannot have failed to observe a remarkable difference between the last two chapters, and those which preceded them. The earlier periods of our history, were invariably marked by external opposition ; either the congregations were disturbed by the riotous and indecent behaviour of many who called themselves gentlemen, or a legislative and magisterial persecution silenced the missionaries, and cast some of them into prison. But from the re-opening of the chapels in Kingston and Morant Bay, in 1815, until the end of 1823, there was very little appearance of outward hostility. The missionaries pursued their successful course unmolested ; the Mission was extended over many parts of the Island ; and during that period, the Societies increased from two thousand seven hundred members to no fewer than nine thousand and seventy six.

It was even thought, that the long night of prejudice had passed away, and the beneficial results of the Mission

so apparent, that no further attempts would be made to retard its progress, or to defeat the object of its agents. But about the period to which we are brought we are to date the commencement of a remarkable change, and of a struggle which did not terminate until the termination of slavery itself. This struggle was not indeed maintained on every station. In St. Thomas in the East, and several other parishes, the missionaries for the most part laboured without opposition; but in many places it was far otherwise. It was obvious that there was a great change in the public mind; or rather, that prejudices which were only dormant, not extinct, were now awakened; and we have again to record instances of oppression: while the agitation was kept up, and the Island degraded, by one of the most brutal publications which ever disgraced the English language.* There were four different events which transpired about the same time, all of which excited great alarm in the Island, and were made use of by the enemies of religion, as the pretext of their opposition to the Wesleyan missionaries.† Those events it will be necessary to notice.

The first was the passing of the famous parliamentary resolutions of 1823, declaring the expediency of adopting such decisive measures for ameliorating the condition of the slave population, as might prepare them for par-

* The Jamaica Courant.

† We here use the term "Wesleyan," because at that time, and for several years afterwards, the Wesleyans were the only ministers who, as a body, were suspected by the Colonists. There were indeed two or three of the Established Clergy who shared in their infamy but as a body they were popular enough. The other denominations were not then thought to be hostile to Colonial institutions.

ticipating in the civil rights and privileges of other classes of his Majesty's subjects. Those resolutions reached the Island about July or August; and the recognition of the principle of freedom, however distant, was productive of instantaneous alarm. It was industriously circulated that the missionaries were but the paid agents of the African Institution, or of other societies of a similar description; and that under the pretence of preaching the gospel, they were endeavouring to effect great civil and political revolutions in the West Indies. That they were preparing the slaves for freedom, while attending exclusively to their spiritual interests, need not be denied; but that they were the agents of any civil or political organizations, as their adversaries affirmed, or that they were interfering either secretly or outwardly, with the civil or political institutions of the Island, is so notoriously false as to require no refutation.

Another event, which occurred about that time, was the petitioning of the Legislature, on the part of the free black and coloured population, for their rights and privileges as British subjects. The public privations under which they then suffered were both numerous and oppressive. Whatever might have been the character, the intelligence, or the property of any man of colour, he was not allowed to be a member of the Legislature, or to give a vote in the elections for the Assembly. He could not fill the office of a magistrate, nor hold an officer's commission in the militia; he had no seat in the jury-box, nor in the parochial vestries; he was disqualified

for even the lowest stations of free persons on estates ; and there were also certain seminaries of public education from which his children were excluded. Although nothing could exceed the decorous and respectful behaviour of those classes in petitioning to be relieved from their disabilities, yet the indignation of the Assembly was excessive ; and as the Wesleyan Societies embraced a greater number of those free persons than any other religious community, much of the indignation fell upon the missionaries.

A third incident which was made use of against the missionaries, was the rumour of several insurrections as having occurred in different parts of the Island. With the exception of a partial excitement in Hanover, those risings were merely imaginary, or at most totally undeserving of any public notice. Even in Hanover itself, there was nothing but the manifestations of discontent on the part of some few of the negroes, on one or two properties, and the whole affair was subdued without any difficulty.*

* It may here be mentioned, that the only instance of alarm which occurred about that time, within the reach of any missionary station in Jamaica, was on W—— estate, in the parish of St. David. An old negro, who resided in a small wattled hut, after the toils of the day, stuck part of a lighted candle in one of the crevices, and fell fast asleep. The hut caught fire, and was soon perceived by some of the negroes, who immediately went to inform the white people and to receive orders. The latter, having some time before retired to rest, they got up, and looking out, an awful scene was presented to their view : “ *Conspiracy ! Rebellion ! Fire ! !* ” But being all militia men they loaded their muskets, and bravely fired in the direction of the burning hut, which however they did not dare to approach. Providentially none of the negroes were hurt, though several were at it at the time ; but one of them afterwards observed, “ *We were waiting for buckra coming down, but when we heary buckra fire him gun, den we tink*

The last event alluded to, is the well known insurrection in Demerara. Although it was allowed on all hands that the Wesleyans had no concern with that affair, yet it afforded a pretext for opposition, too plausible for that purpose to be neglected. It was referred to by designing men with great effect; and old suspicions and prejudices were revived with greater inveteracy than ever.

The state of the Mission was then very critical and trying. An Act was passed by the Legislature, authorizing the Governor to remove any suspected person or persons from the Island; and it was generally thought that the Missionaries were parties particularly referred to. A secret committee was also appointed by the Assembly, invested with considerable powers, and the brethren knew that in several places a system of espionage was in operation, and that they were under the most vigilant surveillance. No communication from the parent government respecting religious toleration in Jamaica had been sent to the Island for years, and the last which had been sent was partially restrictive. Meanwhile a growing hostility became evident in the Courts of Quarter Sessions. A missionary, who had been several years on the Island, applied to qualify in Kingston; and though producing recommendations from some of the most influential persons in the Colony, he was kept for hours under examination, and only succeeded by sending for

it time to pull foot." Thus the hut was left to its fate, and in this manner an event was terminated, which was nearly as serious as any insurrection which occurred about that period.

the Custos the following day, who decided in his favour. In St. Ann's, where hitherto there had been no opposition, two applied at the Court, and their request was peremptorily rejected. On this case the opinion of the Attorney General was solicited, and his reply only served to increase the embarrassment. He considered that the missionaries were bound to apply in each parish, but should the magistrates refuse, they might be compelled by mandamus to allow them to qualify; a measure from which, however, he earnestly sought to dissuade them.* At last it was proposed in the Supreme Court (under the Act referred to), to send them off the Island; but as the sitting of the Legislature was drawing near, and as many of the members had expressed themselves strongly in favour of such a step, the matter was allowed to lie over for a time.

Under these circumstances, the brethren knew not what to do, nor to whom to apply for counsel. The chief seat of the hostility was Kingston; and the Wesleyans were its principal objects. It was a general opinion, that some public vindication of their character and labours was imperatively required; and they were strongly urged to this, by the very few gentlemen whom the troubles of those times had not caused entirely to withdraw their countenance. A few of them accordingly met in Kingston, on the 7th of September, and passed certain resolutions, which were afterwards severely censured by the Committee in London. It is painful to

* *Vide* Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the extinction of Slavery in 1832. Ques. 1528.

dwell upon this matter, but it stands out too prominently to be passed over in entire silence.

The number of missionaries then stationed on the Island was ten, and of those, four met in Kingston on the occasion referred to. After having agreed to certain resolutions, a copy was sent to each absent missionary, requesting that he would peruse it, and in case the resolutions met with his approval, to affix his signature. There were three who signified their entire disapprobation of the whole ; one or two others objected to certain passages which were afterwards censured by the Committee ; and, as there was so little agreement, they were signed only by the chairman. Before they were sent to the press, one of the brethren, who had not been at the meeting, suggested several alterations, and a resolution was inserted which was not in the original copy, and which was more strongly censured by the Committee than any of them. The family-like manner in which the missionaries lived, accounts for this liberty ; but when the substance of the alterations was known, some of the brethren, who were at the meeting, so disapproved of it, that they sent to Spanish Town to quash the whole, but it was too late.

In the first resolution they merely state, “ That they have observed with deep regret the numerous misrepresentations and calumnies, which have been circulated concerning their principles and motives :” and in the second, “ That it has been insidiously stated of the members of this meeting, 1st. That they believe slavery to be incompatible with the Christian religion. 2nd. That their doc-

trines are calculated to produce insubordination among the slaves. 3rd. That they are secretly attempting to put in operation means to effect the emancipation of the slaves. 4th. That they are connected with, and correspond with the members of the African Institution. 5th. That they are the most decided (although disguised) enemies of the West India Colonies. 6th. And are enriching themselves by extorting money from the slaves."

In the remaining resolutions they reply to those statements; but the whole, together with the "disavowal" of the Committee, are too long for insertion. The severe censure of the Committee chiefly referred to two points. The first was the equivocal manner in which they declare their belief, that "Christianity does not interfere with the civil condition of the slaves, as slavery is established by the laws of the British West Indies:" and the second, the manner in which they speak of those benevolent individuals in the mother country, comprehended under the terms of "emancipatists and abolitionists," who were labouring for the ultimate extinction of slavery.

On the former, the Committee observe:—

"If no more were meant by this, than that all slaves, brought under the influence of Christianity, are bound by its precepts to obey their masters, and to submit to the authorities of the state, conscientiously and constantly, this is no more than the missionaries have been explicitly instructed to teach; and which the Committee sacredly enjoin upon them, to inculcate upon all to whom their ministrations might extend; but if it was intended, that the *system* of slavery 'as

established in the West Indies,' or anywhere else, is not inconsistent with Christianity, the Committee and the 'Wesleyan body' hold no such opinion. But whilst they feel, that all changes in such a system ought to emanate solely from the Legislature, they hold it to be the duty of every Christian government, to bring the practice of slavery to an end, as soon as it can be done safely, prudently, and with a just consideration to the interests of all parties concerned; and that the degradation of men, merely on account of their colour, and the holding of human beings in interminable bondage, are wholly inconsistent with Christianity."

On the whole of those proceedings very few observations will be made. That the missionaries never meant to declare, that the system of holding men in interminable bondage, is consistent with Christianity, might easily be proved, were it needful. All they intended, was merely to re-echo the substance of their instructions on the point of slavery; for in the original copy they extracted their very form of expression, which was but slightly altered in that which was afterwards published. But it is admitted, that their declaration, even as it then stood, was equivocal, and an interpretation might have been given which was never meant, of which the "Instructions," being longer and more explicit, were incapable.

Their allusion to the "emancipatists and abolitionists" is indeed perfectly unjustifiable; and especially as it is a fact, that none of the missionaries then on the Island knew scarcely anything relative to their principles and objects. They had no correspondence with any

persons at home, on the subject of West India politics, as was affirmed by their adversaries. They knew but little of the controversy, which was then beginning to be agitated, excepting from what they occasionally saw in the Colonial papers, and which the pressure of their engagements, and their devotedness to their proper work, left them but little time to study. The Committee were perfectly correct in stating, that “the sweeping charges were written under ignorance of the opinions of those excellent men, who distinguished themselves by advocating the amelioration of the condition of the slaves, with a view to the ultimate extinction of slavery.” The truth is, there was little difference of opinion between the “abolitionists” of that time and the missionaries, but of that the latter were ignorant. The language of the resolutions relative to them, was, however, very reprehensible; but it was principally to be found in the fourth, which was not in the original copy; but even the milder language of the original was objected to by some of them, who did not disapprove of the whole series.

But whatever blame may be attached to those brethren in Jamaica who were connected with the resolutions, the candid and thoughtful reader will also take their peculiarly perilous circumstances into consideration. The missionaries felt no fear for themselves, but altogether for their important work. The threats of transportation, were not empty menaces to be altogether laughed at. Persons were transported about that time who were not so obnoxious to those in power as they were; and it is therefore highly probable that the resolu-

tions, censurable as certain parts of them were, were the means of preventing their being sent off the Island. Let it be also observed, that the Wesleyans were at that time the only body of ministers suffering from Colonial prejudice. Jews and Catholics, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Baptists, had as much liberty as they desired; and the Baptist chapel was regularly opened on the week nights even by candle-light, which was denied to the Methodists, who alone were the objects of a cruel and inveterate hostility.

The candid reader, therefore, will not be surprised, that under the severe pressure of such trials, a few should be driven into the indiscretions already pointed out. But the Wesleyan body have no reason whatever to blush for the conduct of their agents in Jamaica. No missionaries ever sent out by them have suffered so much in the cause of Christ, as those who were contemporaneous with the author of this narrative, or who had preceded him on that Island. And let it be also remembered, that there was no other body of ministers then in Jamaica, of whom it can be said, *that not one of them, from first to last, ever held property in slaves.*

It is only needful further to remark, that the censure of the Committee was not productive of that inconvenience which they themselves expected; for in the persecutions which followed, the resolutions passed by them were not referred to. In one respect, indeed, they were attended with much good, for the brethren were determined to enjoy their religious privileges more as

their right, and less as a matter of favour and sufferance than before.

At the District of 1825, it afforded no small consolation to find, that in course of the preceding most painful year, there was a clear increase of members, amounting to no fewer than 973. With only one exception, this was the greatest addition made to the Societies in one year since the commencement of the Mission. The greater part of this was upon the Bath and Stoney Hill circuits ; but there was an uncommon spirit of hearing in other places, and all had some share in the general prosperity.

The Committee in London had been long desirous of establishing a more general and efficient system of Sunday-School instruction ; and the missionaries were equally desirous of carrying their wishes into effect. Hitherto comparatively little had been done, for even those gentlemen who had befriended the Mission, were in general very hostile to the teaching of their slaves to read. Notwithstanding this, schools had been formed in several places, and particularly in Montego Bay and Grateful Hill ; but a more general and efficient effort was now agreed upon. This met with the hearty concurrence of the free people on the various circuits, and particularly in Kingston, where schools, connected with each of the chapels, were speedily formed, and the attendance and proficiency of the children exceeded the most sanguine expectations.

In the month of February, Mr. Shipman left the Island for England, and Mr. Horne for the Bahamas. The

former had laboured in Jamaica for between ten and eleven years, and the latter about seven. During the time of their residence their usefulness was very great, and their names are so interwoven with the history of the Mission as not to be forgotten. Their places were supplied by Messrs. Barry and Kerr, who landed in Kingston in course of the following month ; when the former was appointed to Grateful Hill, and the latter to Bath.

It has been intimated, that in the preceding year Mr. Ratcliffe removed to Falmouth, it being determined to make another effort in that place. This was done at the earnest solicitation of a few persons who belonged to the Society ; and the Custos, being still as friendly as ever, allowed the use of a convenient building, which had been the court-house, at a very trifling rent. This building was soon afterwards sold to the Mission, and through the goodwill of that intelligent magistrate, it was obtained for a very moderate sum. Mr. Ratcliffe succeeded in forming a Society, which in course of the year increased to about eighty members. He had also several estates thrown open to his labours, which he regularly visited ; yet, with all these advantages, the congregations were not large, although the chapel was one of the most commodious then on the Island. The great mass of the negro population manifested the same indifference to religion as before.

The year 1825, was remarkable for a very interesting event in the history of the Mission, namely, the formation of Branch Missionary Societies. The Committee in London had been long desirous to accomplish that object,

while at the same time they expressed the necessity of being very cautious in taking such a step, in a country where every act of the missionaries was viewed with so much jealousy and suspicion. The brethren were quite aware, that the novelty of public meetings would excite feelings of great hostility ; but they concluded that the time was now fully come, in which they could no longer withhold from their people those sources of gratification and profit, which Christians of various denominations enjoyed at home, and which their brethren also enjoyed in the other West India Colonies. A small meeting was first held at Bellemont, on Sunday, the 9th of October, at which Mr. Drew presided, and at which Messrs. Ratcliffe and Young were nearly the only speakers. A good feeling pervaded the congregation, and a collection was made at the close which amounted to between six and seven pounds sterling.

On Wednesday, the 12th, a missionary meeting was held in Spanish Town, and as the Custos and magistrates had in general shown themselves rather friendly than otherwise, no serious consequences, in the way of opposition, were expected. The chair was taken by Mr. Ratcliffe, and the other speakers were the Rev. Messrs. Young, Crofts, Jenkins, Barry, and Duncan, together with Mr. Paul, the steward of that circuit. The chapel was crowded, though principally with free people. There were only two whites present, who were strangers, but they appeared to be as much interested as the others ; and a more hallowed and joyous evening was never spent in Spanish Town. The brethren could not help

adverting, with gratitude to God, to the state of the Mission as contrasted with a former dark and gloomy period ; while they were inwardly sensible, that the time of opposition had not yet passed away, and that even some of them might be called to suffer bonds and imprisonment for the sake of the gospel. The collections amounted to between twenty and thirty pounds sterling, and a number of persons came forward and offered their services as collectors for the society.

The public attention, or rather jealousy, was awakened to an uncommon degree by the meeting in Spanish Town. The Custos, now that a bishop had arrived, appeared desirous to withdraw his countenance from the missionaries ; and a number of persons were summoned to his office, to depose to what they had seen and heard at the chapel. Amongst the rest, were the two white gentlemen alluded to, who were examined, but not upon oath. One of them frankly acknowledged that he neither saw nor heard anything objectionable ; but the other, although he had before spoken to one of the missionaries in the highest terms of the proceedings, adopted a very different tone before the chief magistrate, and represented them as dangerous ; only he affected to doubt whether the speakers were *perfectly sane*. The other witnesses were all sworn, none of whom belonged to the Society, and few could write their own names. The object of the whole was to injure the reputation of the missionaries, by representing them as acting from avaricious motives ; and instead of preaching the gospel to the slaves, to demonstrate that their only aim was to

plunder them of their money. This indeed had been the popular clamour for some time, although it was well known that it was but mere pretence, and raised only to afford a colouring to an opposition which rested on very different grounds. Those affidavits were accordingly made use of for this purpose, as shall be hereafter related.

The next meeting was held at Grateful Hill, on the 18th, at which Mr. Ratcliffe again presided. On this occasion, one of the members made an impressive appeal to the congregations, and observed that it was to the missionary cause that most of them owed their all; that they were miserable, ragged, and without hope, before the missionaries came among them; but since that time they were happy, improved, and had obtained a blessed hope of heaven. He then said, "Grateful Hill Society, who sent those servants of God to us? We did not collect money and send to England for them; no, but they were sent by Christians in that far country, who beheld us in a state of great wretchedness, who pitied us and sent us help. We ought therefore to consider, that as we have so freely received so we ought as freely to give; that the same blessings may be sent to other heathens which have been sent to us." The collection amounted to about five pounds, but a considerable sum additional was entered immediately on the list of contributions.

Similar meetings were also held, towards the close of the following month, at Morant Bay and Bath; and in both places, the chair was occupied by Thomas Thompson, Esq., the senior magistrate of that precinct. In opening the business of the former, the chairman referred

most feelingly, to the beneficial effects resulting to the slave population from the labours of the Wesleyan missionaries, during the long period of their residence among them. He then drew a contrast between the state of the negroes in that parish to that of those residing where no missionary stations had been established; and he especially contrasted their present state as a people with what many still remembered it to have been between twenty and thirty years before. Of that he drew a most affecting picture; but now, said he, "We begin to look like a Christian community." His appeals were cheerfully responded to, and at those meetings about fifty pounds sterling were collected.

The District of 1826 was held in Kingston, at the usual time, and was, with but little exception, a season of great harmony and love. The increase in the number of members was 304, and the brethren were thus appointed to the different circuits:—

Kingston . .	MESSRS. DUNCAN and BARRY.
Spanish Town.	MR. YOUNG.
Morant Bay .	MR. JENKINS.
Bath	MR. KERR.
Grateful Hill .	MR. WHITEHOUSE.
Stoney Hill.	————
Montego Bay .	MR. CROFTS.
St. Ann's Bay .	MR. RATCLIFFE.
Falmouth.	————

At this time an Auxiliary Missionary Society was formed for the Jamaica District, and the public meeting was held in Wesley Chapel. The chair was occupied by

Henry Foskey, Esq., and nearly all the brethren took part in the proceedings. The assembly was immense ; as many as could attend from the other circuits were present, and it was calculated that nearly three thousand had got crowded within the walls of the spacious edifice. It was a happy day for the missionaries ; as they beheld on a large scale the blessed fruits of their labour, and that of their predecessors. The appearance of the whole was almost overpowering, and especially the galleries, which were crowded with a people whose intelligent and respectable appearance would have done credit to Exeter Hall itself. Collections were made at the different services, which altogether amounted to nearly one hundred pounds sterling.

The brethren had scarcely returned to their respective circuits, when the Kingston Society was called to sustain a great loss in the death of Miss Sarah Racster, then one of its brightest ornaments. This excellent person was a female of colour, and had for about thirteen years “adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour.” In early life she was favoured with a respectable education ; but having been in affluent circumstances, before her conversion she was gay and thoughtless, and became conformed to the customs of an ungodly world. About the year 1813, she was deeply convinced of sin, and joined the Methodist Society, then suffering under severe oppression. In a short time she was delivered from the burden of her guilty fears ; and though it is not pretended that she was exempt from human infirmities, yet, from the time of her conversion until her death, few characters more spotless

have adorned any Christian society. She was a liberal supporter of the cause of God, and the poor found in her a sympathising and generous benefactor. She was the leader of three female classes, two in Kingston and one in Port Royal; and while she was characterised by an uncommon degree of modesty, she was at the same time ever zealous in endeavouring to advance the glory of God. Her last illness was protracted, but the consolations of divine grace were amply sufficient for her support; and when the last enemy approached, it was evident that her merciful Redeemer had granted her "power and strength" to achieve a complete and glorious victory. She died in the full triumph of faith, on the 29th of January, 1826; and on the following afternoon, it was the mournful office of the writer of this narrative to commit her body to the tomb, to rest until that day when the grave must deliver up its dead.

About the beginning of this year, the brethren in Kingston ventured to commence services on the week evenings by candle-light. As the Societies had long been deprived of this privilege its restoration was highly prized. Both chapels were opened at the same time, and were attended by congregations little smaller than those which assembled on the Lord's-day. Although even after this, the missionaries on that circuit had not ordinarily to preach oftener than four times a week, yet their labours were very heavy, as there were only two ministers to upwards of four thousand members. The quarterly visitations was especially a work of immense labour. The examination of the Sunday-classes commenced at daybreak,

and was continued for about the space of two hours. This was resumed after the forenoon services, excepting on the first Sabbath of each month, at which time the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered ; and two or more classes again met at the close of the service in the afternoon. Such was the Sunday labour of the Kingston ministers for nine or ten sabbaths in every quarter.

The week-day classes met likewise at day-break each morning for examination, and also again at four in the afternoon, which continued for about eight weeks a quarter, every day, excepting Saturday, being so occupied ; this, taken in connexion with visiting the sick, funerals, and other duties, rendered the labour very arduous ; but there was also much encouragement. Both the chapels were well attended, and the ordinances of God were highly estimated. On the first Sabbath in each month the Lord's Supper was administered, on an average to about from thirteen to fifteen hundred communicants, including those at both chapels. Those were seasons of great bodily fatigue, but they were times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord.

A few weeks after the District-meeting, the Mission received a seasonable reinforcement on the arrival of Messrs. Grimsdall and T. C. Morgan. Mr. Beard also was sent out at the same time, but he was not long on the Island when he was removed to the Bahamas. Mr. Grimsdall was appointed to Stoney Hill, where he laboured for the remainder of the year with uncommon diligence and success ; and Mr. Morgan went to Morant

Bay, to the assistance of Mr. Jenkins. Towards the middle of the year, Mr. Orton landed at Kingston, and was appointed to Falmouth; and in a few weeks more, Mr. Murray arrived, who had been for about three years in the St. Vincent District. But about that time Mr. Young was forced to leave the Island, on account of the very dangerous state of his wife's health, whose constitution had been long and seriously impaired; and his place in Spanish Town was supplied by Mr. Murray. Mr. Jenkins also, whose health had suffered much, removed towards the close of the year, and his place at Morant Bay was supplied by Mr. Parkin.

For some years the missionaries had been earnestly importuned to visit Port Antonio, where no attempts had been made from the time Mr. Horne was rejected in 1819. Mr. Kerr, who was then stationed in Bath, went over in August; and at first he met as many as chose to meet with him in the house where he lodged; but as he was called to account by one of the magistrates, he promised not to preach until he was licensed at the Quarter Sessions. License being obtained, he hired a house for preaching, and visited the place as often as his other engagements on the Bath circuit would allow. His efforts, by the blessing of God, were attended with success; and by the end of the year he left a promising Society, consisting of thirty-five members, besides three on trial.

The year 1826, had almost passed away without any material interruption; at which the missionaries sometimes expressed their astonishment, that an opposition so severe should have subsided almost instantaneously.

The mystery was however at last developed, and it was found that another legislative scheme had been concocting, with the view of retarding their labours and blasting their reputation. For some time the British government had been urging the Legislature to make such improvements in the slave code, as would secure to the slaves the possession of what property they might acquire, and also to provide for their giving evidence in courts of justice against free persons as well as against each other. In the new slave law of 1826 considerable concessions were made, and their right to give evidence was allowed, under certain restrictions and limitations. But several clauses were introduced injurious to the missionaries, and the more so as they were enacted under the pretence of the kindest solicitude for the welfare of the slaves. The principal of these clauses are the 84th and 85th, of which the following is a copy:—

“LXXXIV. And whereas the assembling of slaves and other persons after dark, at places of meeting belonging to dissenters from the established religion, and other persons professing to be teachers of religion, has been found to be extremely dangerous, and great facilities are thereby given to the formation of plots and conspiracies, and the health of the slaves and other persons has been injured in travelling to and from such places of meeting at late hours of the night: Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the commencement of this act, all such meetings between sunset and sunrise shall be held and deemed to be unlawful; and any sectarian, dissenting minister, or other person professing to be a teacher of religion, who shall, contrary to this

act, keep open any such places of meeting between sunset and sunrise, for the purpose aforesaid, or permit or suffer any such nightly assembly of slaves therein, shall forfeit and pay a sum not less than twenty pounds or exceeding fifty pounds for each offence, to be recovered in a summary way before any three justices by warrant of distress and sale, one moiety to be paid to the informer, and the other moiety to the poor of the parish in which such offence shall be committed; and in default of payment thereof, the said justices are hereby empowered and required to commit such offender or offenders to the common gaol, for any space of time not exceeding one calendar month: Provided always, That nothing herein contained shall be deemed or taken to prevent any minister of the Presbyterian Kirk, or licensed minister, from performing divine worship at any time before the hour of eight o'clock in the evening at any licensed place of worship, or to interfere with the celebration of divine worship according to the rites and ceremonies of the Jewish or Roman Catholic religions.

“LXXXV. And whereas, under pretence of offerings and contributions, large sums of money and other chattels have been extorted by designing men, professing to be teachers of religion, practising on the ignorance and superstitions of the negroes in this Island, to their great loss and impoverishment: and whereas an ample provision is already made for the religious instruction of the slaves: Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the commencement of this act, it shall not be lawful for any dissenting minister, religious teacher, or other person whatsoever, to demand or receive any money or other chattel whatsoever from any slave or slaves within this Island, for affording such slave or slaves religious instruction, by way of offering, contributions, or under any other pretence whatsoever; and if any person or persons shall,

contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, offend herein, such person or persons shall, upon conviction before any three justices, forfeit and pay the whole sum of twenty pounds for each offence, to be recovered in a summary manner by warrant of distress and sale under the hands and seals of the said justices, one moiety thereof to be paid to the informer, who is hereby declared to be a competent witness, and the other moiety to the poor of the parish in which such offence shall be committed; and in default of payment, the said justices are hereby empowered and required to commit such offenders to the common gaol for any space of time not exceeding one calendar month."

This act passed the Assembly on the 7th of December, and on the 22nd it passed the Council, on which day it also received the consent of the Duke of Manchester. This was the second persecuting law which his grace had signed during the term of his administration; and, notwithstanding its plausible pretences, not one more intolerant had ever been enacted by the Jamaica Legislature. Unless the missionaries had given up all contributions from free as well as bond (which they neither would nor could conscientiously do), to avoid its penalties was absolutely impossible. It was not, however, to come into operation until the first of May following, and its duration was limited to the period of three years. It is hardly necessary to say, that the missionaries were not enriched by the contributions of the negroes. Their allowances were regulated by the Committee in London, and no circuits on the Island were then able to meet their regular demands, excepting Kingston and Morant

Bay, and sometimes the deficiencies of the latter were considerable. The accounts of the Societies were kept by the stewards, who sent home statements of every fraction, both of income and expenditure, every year. Those yearly accounts are first read at the District-meetings, and if approved of are passed there, and when signed by the stewards are finally sent to the Committee for their examination, and are sanctioned or rejected as they may decide to be just and equitable. This rule applies to all the circuits, whether dependent on the home funds or not.

At the District-meeting, which was held in January, the new law of course was made a subject of conversation; and as the missionaries were conscious that they neither wronged nor impoverished any man (but even in a temporal sense profited thousands), they unanimously resolved, that whatever might be the ultimate fate of the law, or whatsoever might be the consequences to themselves, *they would not sacrifice one single point of their discipline, nor depart in the least degree from that line of conduct which they had hitherto pursued.*

CHAPTER VIII.

Opposition in St. Ann's—Disgraceful outrage at St. Ann's Bay—Death of S. Drew Esq.—Outrage in St. Ann's brought before Parliament by Dr. Lushington—An official "Despatch"—Termination of proceedings relating to "the affair" at St. Ann's Bay—District of 1827—Visit to the Maroons—State of the Mission in Spanish Town and Falmouth—Revival of Religion in St. Ann's—Trial and imprisonment of the Rev. Mr. Grimsdall—Last illness and death of the Rev. W. Ratcliffe—Death of Mr. Parkin—Mr. Grimsdall again apprehended and Mr. Robert Watkis—Messrs. Grimsdall and Watkis, together with Miss Catherine Jarvis, are tried at the Court of Quarter Sessions—Commencement of a third Chapel in Kingston—Death and character of Mr. Grimsdall.

It has been related, that on no part of the Island the missionaries began their labours under more auspicious circumstances than in the parish of St. Ann, which was the more remarkable, as the leading white inhabitants were generally natives of Jamaica. But from the time of which we are writing there was a striking change, and St. Ann's became the seat of the greatest hostility, and was debased by religious persecution, much more than all the other parishes put together. In connexion with this we have, for the first time, to mention a name (which we do with sincere sorrow) which must occupy no very enviable place in the records of Jamaica,—we allude to the Rev. George W. Bridges. That gentleman had a year or two before been appointed to the rectory of St. Ann, and there can be no doubt but his

avowed hostility to the Mission, contributed to excite that spirit of cruel and relentless persecution which has entailed so much disgrace upon many of his ostentatious, but ignorant parishioners. It would afford great pleasure to lose sight of his name altogether ; but several events with which he is connected, are of so public a character as cannot be overlooked in the shortest faithful narrative.

In the year 1826 the only missionary stationed in St. Ann's was Mr. Ratcliffe, a man who for prudent and engaging behaviour has seldom been surpassed. His place of residence was Bellemont, but as it was only about fourteen miles distant from St. Ann's Bay, he was able, with the assistance of Mr. Drew, to supply both places with regularity. After preaching on the morning of Christmas-day at Bellemont, he went down to the Bay along with his family, and preached to the usual congregation in the evening. After the labours of the day, he retired to rest in the mission-house, which was a boarded or wooden building, containing both the chapel and lodgings for a single preacher upon the same floor. At the Christmas festivals it was then usual to call out the militia to preserve the peace, as the slaves had three or four holidays, which, in former times, were spent more in a childish manner than in a way dangerous to the established order; but it was often remarked, that the guards were the most noisy and turbulent persons in the whole community. On the night of the 25th, the guard at St. Ann's Bay were of the Light Company of the militia, which was composed exclusively

of whites. About the hour of midnight a number of them came to the outside of the mission-house, loaded their muskets with ball, and at the word of command, fired upon it from different directions, knowing that the missionary and his family were within. Several of the bullets perforated the walls and went through the opposite side, but seven of them were afterwards found in various parts of the house, exclusive of one which stuck fast in a wooden post, not far from the defenceless inmates. But in this time of danger God covered his servants as with a shield, and providentially none of them were injured.

On hearing of this outrage, Mr. Drew, who was one of the magistrates of that parish, hastened to the assistance of Mr. Ratcliffe; and associating himself with a few other justices, the matter was put by him in the way of legal investigation. He attended only one sitting, at which but little was done, and then retired to Bellemont to sicken and to die. On Sunday, the 2nd of January, he attended divine service at the chapel for the last time, when he also partook of the sacred memorials of our Lord's suffering and death. He was then somewhat indisposed, but on returning home he grew worse, and on Thursday evening, the 6th of January, about 10 o'clock P. M., he died in the joyful hope of a glorious resurrection. It ought to be mentioned, that on that evening a missionary meeting was held at the Bay, at which it had been intended he should preside. When the meeting was finished three of the missionaries who were present,

immediately left for Bellemont, to attend their afflicted friend. After having travelled some miles in the dark, on gaining the summit of a lofty mountain they alighted, and kneeling down on the ground they commended him to God in prayer. They afterwards found, that as near as they could calculate, it was at that solemn moment his spirit took its flight to be for ever with the Lord.

Mr. Drew was a man of extensive learning and eminent talents, but for some years he was tossed to and fro on the troubled ocean of scepticism. But at that time he was in the habit of receiving letters from a pious sister in Cornwall, who was a Wesleyan, which made a deep impression on his mind; and through the instrumentality of that correspondence, and the ministry of the Rev. John Shipman, he was made the subject of a saving change. He joined the Methodist Society in 1816, and until his death he was one of its most zealous members. On some minor points his opinions were peculiar, but he was a firm believer in the depravity and sinfulness of human nature, in the divinity and atonement of Christ, and of our salvation by faith in his merit; and from the time of his conversion his piety was consistent and uniform. He left a widow and numerous family to lament their loss; and his death, happening at such a critical period, the feelings of the missionaries may be more easily conceived than expressed.

Another sitting of the magistrates took place, yet

nothing effectual was done for the discovery of the persons who were guilty of the outrage. But in the meantime the tidings flew throughout the Island, and it was strongly rumoured, that much of the blame rested with the rector, who had on Christmas morning preached a violent sermon against the missionaries. At a subsequent meeting of the vestry the affair was again taken up, and Mr. Bridges addressed to them a most pathetic letter, dated 10th of January, in which he vindicated his conduct, asserted his innocence, and cast himself upon the justice of his parishioners. For the more effectual clearing of himself, the sermon was published in the Island newspapers, from which a few extracts shall be afterwards transcribed. The vestry offered a reward of £50, for the detection of the rioters, and passed certain resolutions, in which, to say the least, they manifested as much anxiety to exculpate their “worthy rector” as to do justice to the missionary. Here the matter dropped for the time, but as it was afterwards revived, the final issue of the whole may as well be narrated at once.

On the news of this outrage reaching Great Britain, Dr. Lushington immediately brought the whole case before the House of Commons, and made such severe remarks as its disgraceful character deserved. On this being known in Jamaica, the matter was again revived. Alarm was instantly excited in the government-house, and a despatch was forthwith sent home by the Duke of Manchester addressed to the Colonial Secretary, of which the following is a copy:—

*“ King’s House, Jamaica,
April 30th, 1827.*

“MY LORD,

“HAVING observed in a late London paper, a motion made by Dr. Lushington, for an enquiry into an attack which is stated to have been made, during the Christmas holidays, on the residence of a Wesleyan missionary residing in St. Ann’s Bay, I think it proper to inform your Lordship, without waiting for your Lordship’s instructions to that effect, that no report had been made to me of this unfortunate occurrence, and I have only heard of it casually. As far as I can learn, it was a drunken frolic among some of the privates on guard, intended to alarm the Wesleyan missionaries. I have never heard, nor do I believe it was connected with, or in consequence of a sermon preached by the rector of that parish ; but was entirely unpremeditated, however much the outrage there committed is to be reprobated or deplored.

“I have lately learned from the Attorney-General, that a strict investigation, which lasted many days, took place on the part of the magistrates, assisted by a barrister who was a Wesleyan himself, and no evidence could be brought forward to induce the grand jury to find a bill. Under those circumstances, it was deemed prudent to offer a reward for the conviction of the offenders, and it was hoped that by appearing to let the matter drop, some of the parties concerned in the riot might be induced to make some disclosures which might lead to the conviction of the delinquents.

“Your Lordship is of course aware, that this event took place after the conclusion of the Session.

“In regard to the sermon preached by the rector of St. Ann’s, and which is so strongly commented on by Dr. Lushington, I understand that it had been repeatedly preached

before on this Island, and that it was not written by Mr. Bridges, but by the archdeacon of Colchester. And as it has been stated by Dr. Lushington, that Mr. Bridges receives the yearly sum of £500 from the public of Jamaica, for a pamphlet which he published some years ago ; it is only proper that such a statement should be corrected, as the only sum that gentleman ever received from the Assembly was £500 sterling, to afford him the means of publishing his ‘ Annals of Jamaica.’

“I shall take care to forward to your Lordship such detailed information as I may be able to obtain respecting the affair at St. Ann’s Bay. I shall also transmit to your Lordship a copy of Mr. Bridges’ sermon. In the meantime I can venture to assure your Lordship, with perfect confidence, that there has been no participation of public feeling in the outrage there committed ; that missionaries are treated with respect and moderation, and any attempt to insult or oppress them would meet with general reprobation.

(Signed) “MANCHESTER.”

The reader will excuse a few observations on this singular document, especially as they will contain a further developement of the “affair of St. Ann’s Bay,” and lead to an account of the termination of the whole business.

The writer remarks, that he “*had only heard of it casually.*” How far this was honourable to a colonial governor to say, four months after the outrage occurred, the public will judge. They will also judge how much the feelings of that man are to be envied, who can coolly represent it as “a drunken frolic among some of the privates on guard at St. Ann’s Bay.” Those “privates” must

have been in a wonderful state of discipline indeed. But the attention of the reader is chiefly requested to the following points :—

First, The writer is desirous to impress upon the Colonial Secretary, that there was no connexion between the sermon of Mr. Bridges, and the outrage which *that night* was committed, and also that he understood that it was not written by him, “but by the *archdeacon of Colchester*.”* The reader will be good enough to attend to the following extracts, fancying, of course, that he hears the dignitary alluded to delivering them, in one of the churches of his archdeaconry :—

“I need not, my brethren, dwell upon the multitude of evils which division from the Established Church is the matter of, in a community constituted like this. What a stumbling block to the unstable minds OF THE IGNORANT NEGROES AROUND US! What a snare to itching ears! What an opportunity to men of wanton or peevish fancies to sow the tares of sedition among us, and thereby to bring ruin upon us all.

* * * * *

“Yet you must know, if you look into your Bibles, that there is very great harm in breaking the unity and fellowship of worship which has been instituted by God himself; and that to separate from the religion of your country, which has stood the test of ages, to adopt the novel doctrines of those who, I am sorry to say, have *political* rather than *religious* reasons for their artful activity, is to destroy the very life and

* The text which was prefixed to this celebrated discourse was John xvi. 32.

spirit of all true devotion. I allow, however, that with judgments refined and tenets fixed, there might be no harm in listening to the instructions of the *Wesleyan missionaries*, had you no other instructions offered to you; but here, when a direct hostility is shown to the church, by opening a place of worship adjoining the church,* at the same hours; thus offering (I will not say mocking) the same administration of our holy ordinances, *exacting your pecuniary oblations*, and obstructing rather than dividing with us in our labours, what is it but to make a false impression on the minds of the ignorant, insulting to the church, injurious to yourselves, *and artfully subversive of the constitution of your country?*"†

Whether there was a designed connexion or not between such a harangue and the disgraceful proceedings of that night, the writer will not pretend to say; but the reader will see, that amongst materials already prepared for explosion, this discourse was very like setting a match to the train; and as to the tale of the archdeacon of Colchester it can only excite a smile of contempt.

* About half a mile distant.

† The sermon complains most grievously of separation from the Established Church. But whether this charge against the Wesleyans in England be true or not, the preacher could hardly help knowing, that in Jamaica, it is absolutely false; and that the clergy officially declared, that the objects of the Wesleyan mission (*i. e.* the negroes) formed no part of their charge. Besides this, one of the benches in the Wesleyan chapel would have accommodated any average congregation attending the parish church before they went there; nor were the congregations of Mr. Bridges so large, as that the missionaries were under the smallest temptation to move even a finger to proselyte the whole of them. But if there be anything in this separation, which is so loudly exclaimed against, in Jamaica at least, the Wesleyans are the *orthodox*, and the clergy the *schismatics*. But the writer sincerely prays, that by the blessing of God they may be made instrumental in making many converts from sin to righteousness.

Secondly, The despatch says, "*No evidence could be brought forward to induce the grand jury to find a bill.*" Of course the reader cannot but suppose from this, that the case had been brought before a grand jury. But what will he think, when he is informed that *no such a thing had ever occurred!* It was indeed so presented afterwards, but not until several weeks from the date of this despatch.

Thirdly, It is asserted "*That missionaries of all descriptions are treated with respect and moderation, and that any attempt to insult or oppress them would meet with general reprobation.*" It is sincerely to be wished, that the Duke of Manchester had never written this despatch; but it is difficult to repress a feeling of indignation on reading the last quoted sentence. What, does not almost the whole history of the Mission demonstrate the contrary? Was there not a law passed, not four months before, which did the same thing? And did not the Duke of Manchester himself put his hand to that very law? And, lastly, was it not disallowed by his Majesty, for the very express reason that it was both insulting and oppressive to the missionaries? Alas! is this the production of a man occupying the highest rank among the illustrious orders of the British nobility!

But further, to show the respect for the missionaries, the reader will now attend to the "upshot" of the whole matter. To pretend any longer that the rioters could not be discovered was perfectly absurd, and it was now obvious that something was needful to be done for the credit of the Island. Several persons therefore gave

themselves up, under the assurance, no doubt, that they were perfectly safe. The case was brought before the grand jury of the Supreme Court in June. But lest the writer should be suspected of prejudice or resentment, the account of what passed shall be principally extracted from the *Jamaica Courant* of June the 6th, 1827. The editor says :—

“ Our readers will remark, that the young men who were participators in the row at the Wesleyan chapel have surrendered themselves. It is to be hoped that the jury will not be led astray by the ex-parte eloquence of Dr. Lushington ; and above all, that his Honour, the Chief Justice will not, in passing sentence, remember the Commons of England. If the young men have done wrong, let their evil deed be corrected by the merciful hand of British law, and not by the tyrannous arm of anti-colonial vengeance.”

The young men were indeed safe enough. The grand jury ignored the bill ; and though the missionaries long expected that the Attorney-General would prosecute *ex officio*, yet he never did ; and thus this disgraceful business was brought to as disgraceful a termination.

The District-meeting of January, 1827, sat in Spanish Town, at which there was nothing very remarkable. The increase of members throughout the preceding year was 753, at the announcement of which the brethren felt happy and thankful. A few weeks afterwards three additional missionaries arrived, namely, Messrs. Crookes, Langslow, and Harrison. The first of these was stationed at Manchioneal, and the second at Morant Bay. Mr.

Harrison went to Falmouth, and took the place of Mr. Orton, who went to the Montego Bay circuit.

For some time the Committee had been desirous of paying attention to the Maroons, a people who were still living in a state of entire ignorance and barbarism. The Maroons, are not the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of the Island, as has been sometimes erroneously supposed, but of African negroes who belonged to the Spaniards, who, when the English took possession of the Colony, fled to the woods and fastnesses of the interior, and have maintained their liberty ever since. At several periods they have caused much trouble, and in particular those at Accompong, in 1795. They are located on four different stations, all in the interior, situated many miles distant from each other ; but the population all put together is only about 1200. They hold a certain portion of land from the Colony belonging to the respective stations, besides other allowances granted by the Legislature. A white superintendent, appointed by the governor, resides on each station, whose office it is to preserve order and see that justice is properly administered ; and none of the inhabitants were allowed to go beyond a certain distance without a passport signed by him. The males are all trained to the use of arms at the expense of the Colony, and at a sort of rifle exercise, or rather bush fighting, they are said to be very expert. A colonel and other officers among themselves hold regular commissions from the governor, and none in the British service maintain their authority with more pomp, or exercise their powers with greater rigour. They generally wear such

coats and hats as they may receive as presents, either from naval or military officers, for if they have only epaulettes and other trappings, the colour, whether blue or red, is no object, and stockings and shoes are generally dispensed with altogether.

The Maroons of Accompong were those on whom the Committee fixed their attention, and about the middle of February, Messrs. Ratcliffe and Murray visited that settlement. They were kindly received by Captain Hylton, the superintendent, who manifested great interest in the object of their visit. On Sunday, the 18th, they went to the house of Major Roch, a Maroon officer, where they preached and expounded to a very considerable number. They again preached and catechized the children the following day, and explained to them more at large their intentions in visiting them. They evinced great interest, and expressed a strong desire for a teacher to reside among them. After this Mr. Orton visited them from Montego Bay, but as the distance was nearly forty miles, by roads almost impassable, this was necessarily suspended; and indeed Accompong was so situated, as that it could not possibly be attended to from any missionary station then on the Island.

On the Spanish Town circuit there had been a gradual improvement and extension of the work of God. A small but promising Society was formed at Old Harbour, the principal place in the parish of St. Dorothy, and the missionary also preached regularly on Halse Hall estate, in Clarendon, situated about twenty-four miles from his residence. In the town, although there was not any

very extensive movement among the negroes, yet the Society and congregation continued to increase, until the house, being too small as well as much decayed, became quite insufficient for their accommodation. The people had been for some time preparing for a new chapel, and to their great joy the first stone of it was laid shortly after the middle of this year.

Under the ministry of Mr. Harrison in Falmouth, the long cherished expectations of the missionaries began at last to be realised. By that time, however, most of the whites who had attended the preaching, grew weary of that way and forsook it; but the negro population seemed to receive a sudden impulse, which shook them out of that dangerous lethargy in which they had been hitherto slumbering. Many, both from the town and the surrounding estates, came to the missionary to be taught the way of salvation. By the end of the year the number of members increased from 119 to 191, but there was a much greater number of serious enquirers, many of whom joined the Society in course of the year following.

It has been remarked, that in the parish of St. Ann the negroes, in general, manifested the same indifference to religion as characterised those of Falmouth and its vicinity. But from the beginning of this year we are to date the commencement of an astonishing change; and the outrage at the Bay, instead of answering its intended purpose, was only the announcement of a far more glorious and successful work than had been hitherto known in that parish. After the District, Mr. Ratcliffe

removed to the new station of Port Antonio, having spent nearly three years of hard toil in St. Ann's, though he saw but comparatively little fruit. But his efforts were not in vain ; by his zeal and perseverance he prepared the field for Mr. Grimsdall, by whom he was succeeded, and under his ministry there was reaped an abundant harvest.

Mr. Grimsdall entered upon his work under very discouraging circumstances. There was only himself to supply both Bellemont and the Bay, besides Ocho Rios, where there had been preaching on the week nights. Mr. Drew, the faithful friend and counsellor of the missionaries, was dead, and there was then no local preacher to render any assistance. and if there had been, he would not have been allowed to officiate. But God again taught his servants the lesson, that the work of religion is his own, and that its success does not primarily depend upon human agency. Hitherto the chapel at Bellemont, even on the Lord's day, presented but a cheerless aspect. There was only a small part nearest the pulpit occupied with benches, which was space enough for the usual congregations. But the firing at St. Ann's Bay told the negroes that it was on their account the missionaries were enduring hardship, and were exposed to danger ; and Mr. Grimsdall scarcely began his labours, when they crowded to the chapel from all parts. More and more benches were procured, but in a few months the walls were too strait for the congregation, and several had to stand without. There was also a similar movement in other parts of the parish,

and from that time everything connected with the work began to wear a different aspect.

But Mr. Grimsdall did not labour long, before a spirit of the most diabolical malice began to be manifested, both against him and his work. The writer is sorry that he must here pollute his page with a name which cannot be consigned to oblivion. The person alluded to is the late Samuel Drake, who held the situations of head constable, supervisor of the workhouse, and captain of militia. This infamous individual, the malignant tool of others as wicked and malicious as himself, was one of the most active instruments in the persecutions which disgraced St. Ann's. He at first went to Mr. Grimsdall and informed him that he must give up preaching, as he had not been licensed in the parish. On this intimation Mr. Grimsdall applied at the court of Quarter Sessions, and after some altercation, he was, through the influence of the Hon. Henry Cox, the Custos, allowed to qualify. After this Drake watched him with untiring vigilance, and also threatened the negroes at the Bay, as they went to the chapel, to have them put into the workhouse for so attending. But all this proving ineffectual he went to still greater lengths; and taking his stand outside, he struck and otherwise abused several of the slaves, as they went in to worship God. He also himself sometimes went in amongst the congregation, and took down such names as he knew, and giving information to their overseers many of them were severely punished.

But as all this did not hinder the work of God, some-

thing more effectual was resolved upon ; and after preaching on the morning of Sunday, June the 3rd, Mr. Grimsdall received from a constable the following summons :—

“ You are hereby requested personally to be, and appear at the court-house in the parish of St. Ann, in the county of Middlesex, between the hours of ten and twelve of the clock in the forenoon of Thursday, the seventh day of June instant, then and there to answer to the justices then present, touching and concerning certain misdemeanours in the said parish committed.”

In obedience to this order Mr. Grimsdall attended accordingly, and two charges were preferred against him. The first was for preaching in an unlicensed house at Ocho Rios, and the second, for preaching to slaves in the chapel in St. Ann's Bay at unlawful hours. To the former charge he replied, that (though there was no law which required it) the house had been duly certified to the clerk of the peace, whose duty it was to present it to the Sessions, and that in preaching there he had done no more than his predecessors, who had not been disturbed on that account. As the charge could not be sustained it was abandoned, after he had promised to desist from preaching there until the Quarter Sessions. He was then called to answer to the second charge, which was brought against him by Drake, when the following proceedings took place, a copy of which was transcribed from the records of the Court.

Samuel Drake was first called, and being sworn he deposed as follows :—

“On Thursday, the 31st of May, between the hours of seven and eight o’clock P.M., stopped opposite the Methodist chapel in my round, accompanied by Mr. Hodges; when on looking, recognized several negroes whom I knew to be slaves, on benches in the Wesleyan Methodist chapel at St. Ann’s Bay; waited near there for Mr. Grimsdall until he had finished; and as the negroes were coming out took hold of some whom he knew.

“*Ques.* Were you called upon by any one to act as a constable on that occasion?

“*Ans.* By Mr. Henry Israel,* one of whose slaves was in the chapel. When opposite the chapel a considerable noise occurred about his interfering. Mr. Grimsdall came out and said, ‘he thought I was interfering and taking too much upon myself.’ I replied, ‘No, I was only acting according to law, and by the direction of the magistrates; and that he had no right to preach and teach the slaves, excepting between sunrise and sunset.’ The people continued in the street for some time.”

“George Saunders sworn: was passing the chapel on the night of the 31st of May, when he saw two gentlemen, whom he recognised as Mr. Hodges and Mr. Drake: was warned by Mr. Drake in the King’s name to notice what slaves were in the chapel: recognised several,—Tom, belonging to Mrs. Clarke, one belonging to Mrs. Sieviewright, and several others with whose names witness is not acquainted.

“*Ques.* Did not Mr. Drake conduct himself in a very peaceable manner?

* Though some of the Jews in Jamaica manifested the same virulence against Christianity, as has brought everlasting infamy upon the character of their infatuated and guilty forefathers, yet it is but justice to say, that not a few of them, especially in Kingston and Montego Bay, treated the missionaries with great respect.

“*Ans.* Yes; Mr. Grimsdall came out and said he was interrupting his congregation.”

Mr. Grimsdall was then called upon for his defence, on which he very properly referred to the 84th clause in the late Slave-law, then in force, which expressly sanctioned his preaching until eight o'clock. But though no one ever pretended to charge him with keeping open the chapel until that hour, he was nevertheless sentenced to “be and stand committed to the common gaol for ten days.” The names of the magistrates who passed this sentence, and signed the copy of his commitment, were Sam. W. Rose, B. W. Smith, and David Brydon.

The place of his confinement was one of the most loathsome that can be conceived. His apartment was only separated from a hospital, or rather lazaretto, by a wooden partition which did not reach half way to the roof, and there was no ceiling. As a number of diseased negroes and others were there at the time, and as it was also connected with the workhouse, the stench was almost insupportable; yet in this place the servant of God was confined, without being allowed so much as a pallet of straw to lie upon, and for no offence, neither real nor pretended, but that of preaching the gospel, and at such hours as the Slave-law, intolerant as it was, expressly allowed.

After the last District-meeting, as has been already stated, Mr. Ratcliffe went to the new station of Port Antonio; and during the time he laboured there, the Lord made him extensively useful. Besides adding many members at the place of his residence, he was

instrumental in forming a small Society at Hope Bay, where he saw the cheering prospects of abundant success. But God in his wise providence was pleased to release his servant from his toil and labour, and in the midst of his usefulness to call him to his everlasting reward. On hearing of his illness, Mr. Parkin hastened from Morant Bay to the assistance of his old and valued friend, but before he could reach the place the last conflict was over. He was, however, affectionately attended by the Rev. Mr. Griffith, then the curate of the parish, who kindly furnished the following account of his triumphant end. He says,—

“After I arrived at his house he called Mrs. Ratcliffe into the room, and requested me to engage in prayer without delay, which being complied with he appeared to be more composed and easy. I remained in his room a considerable time alone, with the exception of a female servant. About half-past seven, a number of persons coming in, we retired into the hall, to lay his case before the Physician of Gilead, I believe our petition to the throne of grace was signed with the hearty amen of every person present. His memory and sight now began to fail him together; yet the Lord was evidently consoling and supporting his servant with the vouchsafements of divine grace. Never before did I witness such composure, resignation, and heavenly-mindedness, as were manifested by this man of God, during the burning rage of the fever which terminated in his death. He declared that the light affliction he was then enduring, was working out for him a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory, and that death had lost its sting. He exhorted all the bystanders to be also

ready ; and maintained in the agonies of death, the truth of that gospel which he had faithfully propagated in his life.

“ When he felt the king of terrors rapidly undermining this tenement of clay, he exclaimed with uncommon energy, that death had laid hold on his vitals, life was drawing to a close, and eternity bursting on his view ; but, continued he, ‘ I feel under me a glorious foundation ; not anything which I have done, all boasting for my part is for ever excluded in shame. Oh the blood, the blood of Christ cleanseth from all iniquity !’ He was now sinking fast, but recovering a little he broke out once more, as in a foretaste of the world to come, and exclaimed with growing confidence of soul, ‘ I know that my Redeemer liveth.’

“ It was now twelve o’clock, and he spoke no more, but making signs for me to come near, he laid hold of my hand and pressed it very cordially, which he never loosened but with life itself ; and at two o’clock A.M., August 16th, 1827, he fell asleep in Jesus, in full possession of the peace of God which passeth all understanding.

Mr. Ratcliffe was a man of most amiable and conciliating manners, and as a preacher his talents were of a highly popular and useful order. He laboured in the Island between ten and eleven years with great acceptance and success, and died in the thirty-ninth year of his age, leaving a widow and three children to lament their irreparable loss.

Mr. Parkin had scarcely returned from the house of mourning to Morant Bay before he was seized with a mortal illness himself. He had laboured for a few years in the Windward Islands, and after having endured great bodily affliction he returned to England for the benefit

of his health. He arrived in Jamaica towards the close of 1826, and was appointed to the Morant Bay circuit, on which he continued until his death. His last public service was to preach a funeral sermon for Mr. Ratcliffe, whose last words he selected for the occasion, and died in peace on the 17th of September, in the fortieth year of his age, only a month after the death of his much-esteemed and highly-valued friend.

The imprisonment of Mr. Grimsdall in the filthy gaol of St. Ann's Bay had not yet satisfied the persecuting rage of his most inveterate enemies. In about three months after his release he was again apprehended, and charged with having married a couple of slaves without having the consent of their owner; although Earl Bathurst, in an official despatch to the Colonies, had stated that no such consent was required. Mr. Robert Watkis, a gentleman of colour, and Miss Catherine Jarvis, of Ocho Rios, were also apprehended about the same time; the former for having sung and prayed in daylight in the chapel in St. Ann's, during the time Mr. Grimsdall was in custody; and the latter, for praying in her own house. They were all bound over to appear in October, and answer to their respective charges at the Court of Quarter Sessions.

At the time of the Quarter Sessions Messrs. Barry and Murray went over to St. Ann's Bay, to witness the extraordinary proceedings, who were extremely happy when they saw the Custos take his seat on the Bench. On Mr. Watkis being called, Mr. Barry begged the favour of his honour to allow him to propose a question

to the clerk of the peace. This being promptly granted, he desired merely to know on what statute he grounded his charge against Mr. Watkis; but it seemed that this had never even been thought of, and he was unable to return an answer. The Custos (who was no persecutor) then charged the jury, that as the clerk of the peace could not sustain the indictment, they must return a verdict of acquittal, and on this being done Mr. Watkis was released.

Miss Jarvis was next placed at the Bar, but the clerk of the peace proposed to traverse this case until the ensuing Court. On the Custos demanding his reason, he replied, that he was not then furnished with sufficient evidence. "Have you," said he, "the evidence on which the grand jury found a true bill?" On answering in the affirmative, the Custos decided that the trial must proceed. A white planter was then called, and on being sworn he deposed that he had seen Miss Jarvis engaged in religious exercises in her house one evening after dark; on which the following examination took place:—

Ques. What was she doing?

Ans. She was praying.

Ques. What did you hear her say?

Ans. All I heard her say was 'O Lord God.'

Ques. How many persons were present?

Ans. I saw only herself and her mother."

His honour was then extremely indignant, and charged the jury, that as Miss Jarvis was guilty of no offence

whatsoever, they must return the same verdict as before ; which was done accordingly.

Mr. Grimsdall was next put to the Bar, when Mr. Barry again desired to know on what law the indictment was grounded. The clerk of the peace instantly replied, "The Slave Law." Mr. Barry then submitted to the Court, that there was not a single sentence in it which had any reference to the case in question. The clerk of the peace then hastily exclaimed, "No, it is the Ecclesiastical Law." Mr. Barry again submitted that neither had that law anything to do with it, having been enacted after the arrival of the bishop for clergymen of the Established Church, and them only. Here, however, the justices lost all patience, and cried out that they would not thus sit on the Bench to be interrupted by "sec-tarians." But the Custos complimented Mr. Barry, and wished their clerk of the peace had only some of his knowledge of the laws of his country. The case of Mr. Grimsdall being however judged to be of an important nature, he was bound over to appear and answer at the next sitting of the Supreme Court.

On the 21st of the same month (October) the foundation of a third chapel was laid in the city of Kingston. For this purpose a grant of land had been made about two years before, by Abraham Rietti Esq., a Hebrew gentleman, upon the condition that the building should be finished within four years from the date of the conveyance. The situation was the most eligible which could be desired, being in the outskirts of the city, at a considerable distance from the Parade, but in a direction

opposite from that of Wesley chapel. Though the old chapel was indeed as full as it could contain, yet this third edifice was rather premature, and caused pecuniary embarrassment, which was felt for some time; but as it was a growing neighbourhood, in which there was no place of worship of any sort whatsoever, it was an enterprise of real charity. Besides Messrs. Barry and Kerr, who were then stationed on the circuit, the preachers who assisted on the occasion were Messrs. Murray, Morgan, and Duncan. A sermon was preached from the well-known words, "What hath God wrought!" and though it was computed that not fewer than eight thousand persons were present, yet as the speakers stood on an elevated platform all were able to hear. Few more imposing spectacles than this had ever been witnessed on the Island. The services commenced about five o'clock, and immediately afterwards the sun became hidden in a cloudy tabernacle, which screened the immense multitude from the fierceness of his rays. The sight was truly solemn, and the vast assembly, either listening with the stillness of death, or lifting up their voices in praise as the noise of many waters, seemed to anticipate that day when the whole church of God shall join in the new song in our Father's kingdom.

It has just been intimated that Mr. Grimsdall was bound over to appear at the Grand Court, which sat in the ensuing February. But the malice of his enemies was disappointed, for before that time God took his persecuted servant home to himself. About the end of November he was seized with severe fever, and when it

became evident that there was no hope of his recovery, he beheld the approach of the last enemy with a courage every way worthy of the high rank of a Christian confessor. He died at Bellemont, full of holy triumph, on the 15th December, 1827, in the thirty-second year of his age.

Mr. Grimsdall was in every sense a most exemplary and consistent Christian. He was a man of plain, but most inoffensive and engaging manners; and that heart must have been hard indeed which could do him even the slightest injury. In early life his education had been neglected, but through the kind assistance of a friend in Hull (from which place he was sent out), he was enabled to lay a foundation on which he afterwards built with great success. From the time of his arrival in Jamaica he attended to his studies with more than ordinary diligence, and his profiting appeared to all, while his public labours were so uncommon, that his brethren remarked that during his short residence on the Island, he had done the work of years. His bodily constitution was strong and vigorous, and there can be little doubt but that his death was hastened by the cruel and relentless persecution which he suffered. In the parish of St. Ann his labours were eminently successful. When he went thither in February, he found the number of members to be 301, but at his death they amounted to no fewer than six hundred and forty-six; and a more genuine work of God the Island had never witnessed. But it appeared that the malice of his enemies did not subside even after his death, and several

months from that time one of the magistrates who condemned him to imprisonment, pointed to his tomb, and with scornful and malignant excitement remarked to his companion, that "there lay the first of those fellows" with whom he contended. But Mr. Grimsdall and his persecutors will have to stand at the judgment-seat of Christ. May God grant that they may find mercy in that day.

The year 1827 was more than usually afflictive to the Wesleyan mission family. Within a few months no fewer than three of the missionaries had been removed by death, exclusive of the excellent wife of Mr. Crookes, who died at Manchioneal Bay. But though their bodies sleep in dust, yet having all died in the faith, their spirits are for ever happy in the presence of the Lord.

CHAPTER IX.

The Slave-law of 1826 is disallowed—The “Sectarian Committee” appointed by the House of Assembly—District of 1828—Opposition in St. Ann—A bill of Indictment found against Mr. Whitehouse at the Quarter-sessions of that parish—Missionary Meeting in Kingston—Imprisonment of Rev. Messrs. Whitehouse and Orton—They are released by order of the Chief Justice—Magistrates deprived of their Commission by Sir. John Keane—Affidavits filed in the Crown Office, against the Rev. Messrs. Barry, Duncan and Orton, charging them with “Wilful and corrupt Perjury”—Trial of Mr. Orton—Indictment against Mr. Whitehouse, removed to the Supreme Court and quashed—Death of the Rev. Messrs. Morgan and Harrison—New Chapels opened in Spanish Town and Kingston.

TOWARDS the end of the year 1827 the Colonial legislature was called to meet by the lieutenant-governor, Major General Sir John Keane. At an early period the fate of the late slave-law was announced, which was, *That his Majesty had been graciously pleased to disallow it.* This was an act most honourable both to the Sovereign and his ministers, for though the law undoubtedly contained many improvements, yet it showed that in their estimation no advantages whatsoever can be a compensation for the loss of religious liberty, and an infringement on the rights of conscience. A long despatch, assigning his Majesty’s reasons for the step which had been taken, was sent out by the Right Hon. W. Huskisson, the Colonial Secretary, from which we transcribe a few extracts, which can hardly fail to be interesting to the reader.

“ Among the various subjects,” says the despatch, “ which this act presents for consideration, none is more important in itself, nor more interesting to every class of society in this kingdom, than the regulations on the subject of religious instruction. The eighty-third, and the two following clauses, must be considered as an evasion of that toleration, to which all his Majesty’s subjects, whatever may be their civil condition, are alike entitled. The prohibition of persons in a state of slavery assuming the office of religious teachers, might seem a very mild restraint, or rather a fit precaution against indecorous proceedings ; but amongst some of the religious bodies who employ missionaries in Jamaica, the practice of mutual instruction is stated to be an essential part of their discipline. So long as this practice is carried on in an inoffensive and peaceable manner, the distress produced by the prevention of it will be compensated by no public advantage.

“ It is impossible to pass over without remark, the invidious distinction which is made, not only between Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics, but even between Protestant Dissenters and Jews. I have indeed no reasons for supposing that the Jewish teachers have made many converts to their religion among the slaves, and probably the distinction in their favour is merely nominal ; still it is a preference which, in principle, ought not to be given by the Legislature of a Christian country.

“ The penalties denounced upon persons collecting contributions from slaves, for the purpose either of charity or religion, cannot but be felt both by their teachers and followers, as humiliating and unjust. Such a law would fix an unmerited stigma on the religious instructor ; and it prevents the slave from obeying a positive precept of the Christian religion, which he believes to be obligatory on him, and which is not

inconsistent with the duties he owes to his master. The prohibition is therefore a gratuitous aggravation of the evils of his condition.

“I cannot too distinctly impress upon you, that it is the settled purpose of his Majesty’s government, to sanction no Colonial law which needlessly infringes on the religious liberty of any class of his Majesty’s subjects ; and you are to understand, that you are not to assent to any bill imposing any restraint of that nature unless a clause be inserted suspending its operation until his Majesty’s pleasure shall be known.”

It is scarcely possible to conceive of the disappointment and chagrin occasioned by this despatch. The Assembly felt the last paragraph especially to be most mortifying, and resolved to legislate no more for the slaves, while the governor was placed under such a restriction. The debates were excessively intemperate, and as they were certainly far from being entirely unconnected with the subject of our narrative, the two following specimens are selected for the perusal of the reader :—

“Mr. Barrett said, to pass another slave law would be an absurdity. His Majesty’s ministers are the tool of a faction, whose object was the destruction of the West India Colonies. It behoved the House then to consider what they did. He had most carefully examined the document sent out by Mr. Huskisson to Sir J. Keane, and he had no hesitation in saying, that it was not the work of a statesman, nor of an honest man, but that of an enemy to his country. The British government knew well, that if they lost these Colonies they had no way to supply the revenue. Sorry was he to find that the British ministers loved their places more than their country,

and that they would, for a few votes in Parliament, send this unfortunate Colony to perdition."

"Mr. Stamp felt great pleasure in hearing the candid, manly, and eloquent address of the honourable member for St. James's. That gentleman, in his speech, had fully laid open the fraud and villainy which had been so long practised upon this House by British ministers. One thing he would beg to impress upon this House, and that was, *that this House would proceed to impeach any minister who would attempt to violate the constitution of this country.*"

The reader will probably find it difficult to preserve his gravity, while attending to such ribaldry and nonsense. But there was a sense in which it was serious language. It was such vituperative slang as this, which caused that scene of desolation, which the Island witnessed about four years afterwards; and the criminality of which was in vain attempted to be charged upon the missionaries.

As all attempts on the part of the Legislature to obstruct the progress and work of the missionaries, had been hitherto attended with entire failure, another scheme was devised at this session, with the view of accomplishing that object, which its issue demonstrated to be more unprincipled than any which preceded it. It was then that the celebrated committee, commonly known by the name of the "Sectarian Committee," was appointed by the house of Assembly; the AVOWED object of which the reader will learn from the following resolution on which it was formed:—

"That a Committee be appointed to inquire and report the

names of all sectarians or dissenters, licensed to preach and teach, and resident within this Island ; and also to ascertain and report, what offerings or monies are or have been received or taken by such sectarians or dissenters, from all slaves or other persons attending the places of worship, in which such sectarians or dissenters preach or teach ; and what offerings or monies are or have been received or taken by unlicensed persons, acting under their instructions, as class-leaders or otherwise, from any slave or other persons attending their meetings or societies ; in what manner such offerings are received and applied or disposed of ; and also to ascertain and report, whether any, and what regulations are necessary, to the receiving of such offerings or monies at such places."

This motion was proposed by Mr. Marshall, one of the members for St. John's, and a committee was appointed with full powers to carry it into effect. Besides Mr. Marshall, the chairman, the other members were Messrs. Batty, Grignon, Quarrell, and Capon.

The Wesleyan missionaries examined before the committee, were Messrs. Barry, Duncan, Morgan and Orton ; and it is but just to say, that during the course of their examinations they were treated with great apparent kindness and respect. Besides the missionaries, two leaders of female classes were also summoned from Kingston to give evidence. Those were Mrs. Sutcliffe and Miss Dessosser, but the former only was examined ; and the author is sorry to say, that he has learned that she was not treated with that respect which a person of her station, modesty, and intelligence undoubtedly merited. As the committee did not finish their exami-

nations at this session, the result of the whole will be given in its proper place.

At the District of 1828, which sat in Kingston, ten missionaries were present, being the greatest number who had ever assembled on any similar occasion. The following is the list of circuits, together with the number of members belonging to each :—

Kingston	4235
Port Royal	147
Spanish Town	505
Morant Bay	1705
Bath, &c.	1958
Grateful Hill	678
Stoney Hill	726
Montego Bay	748
Falmouth	191
St. Ann's	646
Port Antonio	143
<hr/>	
Total	11,682
Last year	10,974
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Increase in 1827 . . .	708
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After the District of 1828, Mr. Whitehouse went to St. Ann's, as the successor of the late Mr. Grimsdall. He found that his statements relative to the extraordinary prosperity of the work of God had not been in the least exaggerated, and many were still inquiring "what they must do to be saved." But he had only been about a month on his station, when he received a summons to

attend the court, and answer for having preached without a license. As the magistrates professed all the while to be governed by the old toleration law, he very properly replied that he did not consider it to be necessary, having already qualified in another parish. But on the Custos inquiring whether he was again willing to take the usual oaths, he replied in the affirmative; which having been administered, he was licensed accordingly.

Nothing very material occurred until the month of July, at which time he learned with surprise, that an indictment had been found against him at the Quarter Sessions, charging him with *preaching without a license*, and a bench warrant was immediately issued for his apprehension.* He was then taken into custody, and brought before three magistrates, by whom he was bound over to appear at the ensuing court to answer to the charge. On his inquiring whether it was intended to prohibit his preaching in the meanwhile, he was told by the clerk of the peace that the court had given orders

* This requires some explanation. In certain parishes the missionaries were not only required to take the usual oaths, but to receive a certificate from the clerk of the peace. The fee charged for such certificates varied from four to sixteen dollars; but it is to be observed, the practice of applying for such documents never was so general as that of attending the courts to take the oaths. The writer spent between eleven and twelve years in Jamaica, but never had any certificate but one, which he obtained on his arrival. The fee demanded in St. Ann's was about £1 12s. sterling, and as in the certificate it was declared that the labour of Mr. Witehouse should be confined to certain places, he properly refused either to submit to the restriction or the pecuniary imposition. It was on this ground the magistrates pretended he was unlicensed, and found the indictment referred to above. Even on their own principles their proceeding was absurd. They had authorised him to preach, and the records of their own court attested it, and as to certificates Mr. Whitehouse possessed abundance to show that he had qualified, both under the old toleration act and the new.

that he should not preach for the space of three months. To this he replied, that to such an order he could not conscientiously submit. By preaching he violated no law, and to forbid him was to infringe upon his rights, both as a minister and a British subject. To this the magistrates only answered, “ *The decision of the Bench is the law;*” and that if he refused to obey their orders he must abide by the consequence. After this he only preached once or twice, when he was informed that Drake had obtained a warrant to apprehend him, but having gone to Kingston to a meeting of the branch Missionary Society, the warrant was not executed until after his return.

The above-mentioned meeting was held on the 1st of August. It was as usual largely attended, but an incident occurred which renders it necessary to suspend the account of affairs in St. Ann’s for a few moments. In connexion with the meeting, the reader’s attention is called to a name which will frequently be found in the following pages, we allude to Mr. Augustus Hardin Beaumont, the proprietor and editor of the Jamaica Courant. This person, who afterwards exercised so much influence in the Island, was little more than thirty years of age, of rather a mean appearance, and effeminate expression of voice, but remarkable for great mental energy and indefatigable perseverance. About the year 1822, he commenced a scurrilous publication called the “Trifler.” It was issued in numbers, and was remarkable for its abuse of the missionaries, for its obscenity, and for traducing such of the authorities as were imme-

diately appointed by the parent government ; and all this under pretence of the most devoted attachment to the planters, and zeal for the welfare of the Colony. This infamous journal did not last long, but shortly after its discontinuance he commenced a paper called the " Public Advertiser," and ultimately obtained the " Jamaica Courant." He had been repeatedly prosecuted for libel, but always defended himself without the aid of counsel. This brought him into notice, and more particularly as he invariably obtained a verdict in his favour ; more, however, as he was considered a sufferer for the interest of the planters, than by the strength of his arguments or the justice of his cause. When he commenced his career as editor and publisher he was in circumstances of great obscurity, but he was raised to be a member of the Common Council of Kingston, and for a short time the leader in the House of Assembly.

At the missionary meeting just spoken of, Mr. Barry was requested to preside in the room of a lay gentleman, who, through indisposition, was prevented from occupying the chair. On the speakers taking their places on the platform, they were somewhat surprised to observe Mr. Beaumont and some of his companions in the front gallery. On one of the speakers referring to the opposition in St. Ann's, he rose and delivered a long harangue, insinuating that the magistrates of that parish had been traduced. He vauntingly observed, that " armed as he was with magisterial power he might dissolve the meeting ;" yet he declined to exercise it, and at the close of his speech he left the chapel without waiting for a

reply. As there was a little excitement (and but little), Mr. Barry addressed the assembly, stating that they had nothing whatever to fear, and that as they were protected by the law, the gentleman whom they had just heard had no right to interrupt the business, and possessed no power to dissolve the meeting. He afterwards addressed a letter to the "Kingston Chronicle" upon the subject; and observed, that in Mr. Beaumont's interference he had never seen "the magisterial dignity sunk so low."

On this assertion Mr. Beaumont entered an action against him for libel, and estimated his damages at £2,000. As has been already observed he had frequently appeared as a defendant in such concerns. Now he changed sides, and turned plaintiff; and as he considered he had vanquished the members of the Bar within their own territory, so he purposed to try his strength against the unpopular "sectarians," who had been provokingly regardless of his published calumnies. The trial was not, however, brought on until the following year, and the account of it is therefore reserved for its proper place, that in the meantime we may relate what transpired in St. Ann's.

After the meeting Mr. Whitehouse returned to his circuit, confidently expecting to be sent to the same filthy gaol, which it was believed had undermined the health of his predecessor, and hurried him to a premature grave. On Saturday, the 9th of August, he left Bellemont in company with Mrs. Whitehouse, with the intention of preaching at St. Ann's Bay the day following, which having been well known, every thing was prepared

by his enemies to apprehend him. When he had proceeded a few miles on his journey, he was met on the road by Drake, who arrested him in the King's name, and laid hold on him as his prisoner. Proceeding a little further Drake stopped and took him into a house by the road-side, where Mr. S. Rose (the magistrate who presided on the trial of Mr. Grimsdall) was waiting quite ready for what took place. Here he was detained some time, while Mrs. Whitehouse was forced, with unfeeling brutality, to remain without, exposed to the burning heat of a vertical sun. After his commitment had been signed, which was prepared beforehand, he was then removed in the custody of Drake to St. Ann's Bay.

“On arriving at the gaol,” says Mr. Whitehouse, “I was conducted to the apartment where that man of God, the late Mr. Grimsdall, had been twice imprisoned. On entering, I found it was occupied by an insane black woman, whom the gaoler removed to another apartment. The cell was exceeding filthy, and the stench was unbearable. It was now eight o'clock in the evening, and the gaoler said he must ‘lock up.’ I desired that the floor might at least be swept, which a few friends immediately attended to. There was no bed provided for me, not even one of straw, and it was not until I had made several requests to the gaoler, that a few benches from the chapel were allowed to be brought in, on which to make a bed. A large quantity of vinegar and of strong camphorated rum was thrown upon the floor and walls, for the purpose of counteracting the very disagreeable effluvia, which proceeded from the filth with which the place abounded; but this produced very little effect. The sea-breeze had subsided, and the only window from which I could obtain the least air, was

just above the place in which all the filth of the premises is deposited."

On the imprisonment of Mr. Whitehouse, he immediately wrote to Mr. Barry and the author of this narrative, requesting that, if possible, they would hasten to St. Ann's Bay to his assistance. The former being then stationed at Spanish Town, and the latter at Grateful Hill, they met from different directions, on the 12th of August, at an inn on the northern road ; and after a long and fatiguing journey they came safely to Bellemont, a little after dark. Tarrying there for the night, they set out again early the following morning, and reached the Bay between seven and eight o'clock, A.M. On their arrival, they found a number of free people about the chapel premises, wringing their hands expressive of great sorrow, who informed them that Mr. Orton had arrived the preceding afternoon, and having preached in the evening, "Drake," said they, "was at the house by five o'clock this morning, and has taken him before a magistrate ; he will soon be in gaol, and we fear that before night you two will be in gaol also."

After breakfast they went to the gaol to see their persecuted brother, a place which they found to be as detestable as had been represented. A number of diseased persons were going about, some with loathsome sores, and altogether the appearance of the whole was as sickening as can well be imagined. But they found the undaunted missionary as happy as if he had been in a palace, and through the mercy of God, his health had sustained no material injury. After a little conversation, Mr. Orton

came in, who stated, that although he was not yet a prisoner, he believed that he should be one before night; that he had been taken before Mr. Heming, a magistrate, who had called a special court to sit at eleven o'clock, at which he had engaged to attend.

A little after eleven the court sat, and Messrs. Rose and Heming only took their seats on the Bench. Mr. Orton was then called upon, and Mr. Rose said, that information had been given by Mr. Drake, that he had been preaching the preceding evening in the Wesleyan chapel, and demanded by what authority he had done so, not having received permission from the magistrates? Mr. Orton answered, "that he was a regular minister of the Wesleyan connexion and had taken the usual oaths of allegiance and supremacy, both in London and in a neighbouring parish, and that he had preached several times on St. Ann's Bay before, and no one had disturbed him on that account." He then handed to the Bench his certificates of ordination, together with his other credentials, and after having perused them, Mr. Rose said they were insufficient; "that he had been guilty of a misdemeanor, and a very great misdemeanor too;" and then began to write out his commitment. On this, Messrs. Barry and Duncan stepped forward, and addressing their worships, stated that they had come to St. Ann's for the purpose of offering bail for Mr. Whitehouse, but as Mr. Orton was now in similar circumstances, they tendered bail for him also. The magistrates replied, that they had no objection to admit Mr. Orton to bail, but it must be on the condition that security be given

that he should not preach again in the parish, until he received permission from the Court. To this the missionaries decidedly objected, and submitted, that if they thought he had been guilty of an offence, and should that offence be committed again, they had it in their power to apprehend him as before; but to tender bail upon any such condition, was what they would not do, and if they did, Mr. Orton would not accept it. After a good deal of conversation (in which it appeared very evident that the magistrates wished to evade the case of Mr. Whitehouse altogether), they then said, "We wish now to direct the attention of your worships to Mr. Whitehouse; we cannot conceive that there can be any difficulty in his case, as even according to your own views of the law, he has been already licensed for the parish." Mr. Rose then replied in a low tone, that he believed he was committed without bail. "Are we to understand your worship," said the missionaries, "that you have committed Mr. Whitehouse to gaol without bail or mainprize?" To this he answered, "I have no copy of the commitment at present and cannot be certain." "Did not your worship," said they, "make out that commitment?" He replied hesitatingly, "Yes, I believe that is in it—it is in it." The missionaries then stated that they would repair to Kingston, and obtain their release by habeas corpus; but before they finally quitted the court-house, they returned to the Bench, and said, "Please your worships we once more offer bail for Mr. Whitehouse and for Mr. Orton." They again expressed their willingness to ac-

cept bail for the latter, and urged it; but as they would not leave out the condition already specified the missionaries retired.

The reader will excuse something of prolixity in the detail of the above-mentioned proceedings. They have been related thus minutely because of their inseparable connexion with a remarkable event, which shall soon be recorded. But in the meantime it is but justice to say, that although the missionaries addressed the Bench alternately for upwards of an hour, the magistrates behaved towards them with great civility.

After obtaining some refreshment, Messrs. Barry and Duncan returned to the gaol to take leave of their brethren, then the prisoners of Jesus Christ. Before their departure they proposed to have prayer, but were informed that orders had just been received that no such exercises could be allowed. They replied, that they had received no such orders, and gave out the verse,

“ Who suffer with our Master here,
We shall before his face appear,
And by his side sit down.
To patient faith, the prize is sure;
And all who to the end endure
The cross, shall wear the crown.”

This verse was sung lustily, and several of the poor inmates, struck with the unusual sounds, came into the apartment, and kneeled down while the persecuted missionaries were commended to the grace of God.

The brethren lost no time in proceeding to Kingston,

where they made affidavits, that bail had been offered for Messrs. Whitehouse and Orton, which had been refused. A blank copy was forwarded to St. Ann's to be filled up by Mr. Orton, which having been returned, orders were issued forthwith for their removal to Kingston.

On account of these necessary steps, they did not arrive in Kingston until the afternoon of the 28th of August; and being still prisoners, they were met by three other missionaries, who accompanied them to the gaol. Immediately on alighting, a smart shock of earthquake caused the Island to vibrate to its centre, and we saw that all within was bustle and alarm. This consternation was not lessened, when they perceived two ministers standing before them as prisoners, for no crime but that of preaching the gospel. The officers cried out, "Those gentlemen cannot come in here; we have no place prepared for them!" It was then inquired, where they were to go? And it was answered, "They could not tell, only they could not come within the gaol." To this it was observed, "That they were prisoners, and must remain at least for that night." But it was answered, "They knew they were prisoners, but nevertheless there was no place for them there." The deputy-marshal then desired that they might go to some of their friends, and on the following morning at eleven o'clock, he would go with them to the chief justice, where the whole business would be settled. This was very different treatment from what they had been receiving; though the meanest cell within the premises was a lordly

hall, compared with the detestable apartment they had left.

The chief justice was the Hon. William A. Scarlett, brother to Lord Abinger, and one of the most upright men Jamaica had ever produced. He was a man of strictly moral habits ; and as a judge, remarkable for inflexible integrity, and the exercise of impartial justice. He had studied the late proceedings with deep attention, and the brethren were scarcely brought before him when he ordered their release. The business of Mr. Orton was quashed entirely ; yet as an indictment had been found against Mr. Whitehouse, it was necessary that he should appear and answer to it ; but the case was removed by certiorari from St. Ann's to the Supreme Court. It was a matter of great grief, that before its sitting, the chief justice had to leave the Island for Great Britain, and none but assistant judges remained, whose station has been already described.

The issue of this business was uncommonly mortifying to the magistrates of St. Ann ; but a still more humbling stroke was awaiting them. The lieutenant-governor Sir John Keane (now Lord Keane) had made himself acquainted with the whole affair ; and indignantly expelled both Rose and Heming from the magistracy, the powers of which they had so much abused. The missionaries were informed, that the manner in which this was done, was equally honourable with the act itself. That he wrote, warning and admonishing the magistrates of that parish, and assured them, that “ the Wesleyan missionaries were not to be hunted down like a parcel of

dogs." Sir John Keane had not, perhaps, much of the penetrating sagacity of a wily politician, but he had the honest high-mindedness of a British general.

The indictment which had been found in St. Ann's against Mr. Whitehouse, was removed to the Supreme Court, which sat in Spanish Town, in October. He was charged with a misdemeanor in preaching and teaching in St. Ann's, without the license of the magistracy; and as the proceeding was likely to settle that question, it was a matter of great public interest. Several missionaries, amongst others, went to witness the trial; but before they reached the courthouse, they were informed by their solicitor, that they must be prepared for another trial of a more serious description. On their inquiring to what he referred, he stated that affidavits had been filed in the Crown Office, charging Messrs. Barry, Duncan, and Orton with "*wilful and corrupt perjury*;" that the ex-magistrate Rose, together with Drake and another person, had sworn that no bail whatever had been tendered for Mr. Orton, at the special court which sat in St. Ann's on the 12th of August. Also, that on account of Messrs. Duncan and Barry having made oath to their statements in Kingston, their case could not be proceeded with until the Surrey Assizes; but Mr. Orton's alleged offence having been committed in Cornwall, he had no doubt but he would be brought to trial before Mr. Whitehouse. In this conjecture he was perfectly correct, and Mr. Orton was instantly bound over to appear the following morning and answer to the charge. The grand jury having found

a "true bill," the business was proceeded with on the 23rd. The assistant judge who presided was the late Mr. Richard Barrett, a man of some talent and influence. He was an extensive planter, Custos of St. James, and member of Assembly for that parish. But though he was universally regarded as a man of ability, his principles were considered so vacillating and uncertain, that he possessed the entire confidence of no party. Though the case to be tried was nominally the "*King v. Orton*," its promoters were not content to leave it in the hands of the attorney-general, whose office it was to prosecute it. Mr. Hugo James, who then occupied that station, was a gentleman of great urbanity of manners, and no persecutor of religion. It was doubted whether he would be sufficiently zealous in the cause to secure success. The party therefore re-retained Mr. Fitzherbert Batty to assist him, a man not destitute of talent, and of whose zeal there could be no question.

The witnesses examined for the crown were Messrs. Rose, Drake, and Robinson. They all deposed that no bail had been offered for Mr. Orton, consequently that his affidavit was false. Rose persisted in affirming, that the word bail had never been mentioned; that Messrs. Duncan and Barry had indeed been allowed to occupy much time in addressing the Bench (more than he believed was justifiable), but they had never mentioned the word "bail." On being asked to say what was their avowed object in taking that long journey, and appearing before the court, he was at a loss for an answer;

but at last replied, that “ they said they had come to St. Ann’s to inquire why they had put Mr. Whitehouse in jail ;” a statement which was responded to by a burst of indignation throughout the whole house. Drake was next examined, who also affirmed that no bail had been offered on the occasion ; that he was present the whole time, and must have heard it had the offer been made. On being asked to say on what subject the missionaries addressed the Bench on the day in question, he replied, *that they never addressed the magistrates at all ;* though afterwards, on being reminded of what Rose had said, he allowed he had heard them say something about habeas corpus, *but nothing more.* Robinson, the only other witness, gave his evidence in a very different manner. He was a young shopkeeper in St. Ann’s, and seemed very reluctant to make his appearance. His testimony amounted simply to this, that he never heard bail offered for Mr. Orton. This might be partly true, for he was seen conversing at the door of the court-house during a great part of the time.

The witnesses for the defendant were Messrs. Barry and Duncan, together with the Rev. Samuel Bromley, the General Baptist missionary. The substance of their evidence has been already recorded in the proceedings of the special court ; only Mr. Bromley deposed to bail having been offered six different times for Mr. Orton alone, besides what took place at the close of the proceedings, when it was tendered for both. That no advantage might be lost, the crown witnesses were again called to give evidence in rebutter. There was little

difference between their former and latter statements, only Rose did admit that the "word bail might have been mentioned," but persisted that none was offered for Mr. Orton.

Our limits will not allow a more lengthened detail of those examinations, which occupied the court for almost a whole day. But we cannot withhold the substance of Mr. Barrett's address to the jury, in summing up the evidence which had been adduced. The reader will see the manner in which justice was then administered by Colonial magistrates to Wesleyan missionaries. The substance of the address is as follows :—

"Gentlemen of the jury, the prisoner, Joseph Orton, stands at the bar charged with wilful and corrupt perjury. Though there are offences more severely punishable, yet there are none more disgraceful, and the scorn and contempt of mankind will for ever haunt the traverser, if a verdict of guilty go forth against him. In determining the present question, it matters not whether the conduct of the magistrates was legal or otherwise, the nature of the crime charged against the prisoner is not affected thereby. The point on which you are to determine is the evidence."

Here he went over the evidence for the crown at considerable length, and then proceeded.

"Gentlemen, in Mr. Rose's evidence there is not the slightest contradiction, and notwithstanding a severe cross-examination its consistency is preserved. His testimony is confirmed by Mr. Drake and Mr. Robinson, and notwithstanding a most rigid cross-examination there is not the smallest discrepancy between them ; only in one apparent instance, in

which Mr. Drake stated that Messrs. Barry and Duncan were near the Bench, and afterwards he was understood to say they were not."

He then briefly glanced for a few seconds only at the evidence for the defendant, and thus concluded:—

"Gentlemen, Mr. Rose presided as a magistrate on the occasion, and must have heard all that passed, and if his statements are not true he must be guilty of perjury, for he could not be mistaken. But can this be believed? Mr. Rose is a gentleman of long standing in the community, of respectable education, and of unblemished integrity; and besides, his evidence is corroborated by two others, one of whom, at least, is perfectly disinterested. But, gentlemen, you must dismiss from your minds the remark of the counsel for the defendant, as to the character of his witnesses, they being ministers. When a man is on his oath before God, it makes no matter what may be the colour of the coat he wears."

He just allowed, that if there was any doubt on their minds they should give the prisoner the benefit of it.

In the above brief account of Mr. Barrett's address, some may be inclined to suspect, that the writer, having been personally interested, is as much biassed against the judge as the judge was against the prisoner. He is happy, however, to refer to the "Jamaica Courant" from October 18th to the 25th, 1828, in which the case is reported at much greater length. The editor of that publication will not be suspected of any friendly feeling towards the missionaries. But while he eulogizes Mr. Barrett, he states quite enough to corroborate every

thing which has just been affirmed. If so, surely such a specimen of a judicial address to a jury had not been witnessed in the British dominions for a century before ! Mr. Barrett knew there were discrepancies amongst the witnesses for the crown ; and it cannot be doubted, but if Sir W. Scarlett had been present, he would have ordered that Drake should have been tried for that very offence which he was endeavouring to charge upon an innocent man. Mr. Rose's conduct was not so unimpeachable as Mr. Barrett wished the jury to believe. If so, it may be asked why was he degraded from his office as a magistrate only a few days before the trial occurred ? A matter with which he was perfectly acquainted. But had it been otherwise, surely the prisoner had as much right to the benefit of the character of his witnesses as the other side. But no, this must not be thought of for a moment, and the jury are charged to dismiss from their minds all allusion to it on the part of the counsel. It was, however, a happy circumstance that they had honour enough to frustrate the object of this unprincipled judge. The foreman and another parishioner of St. Ann, indeed, stood out some time, but the others were resolute ; and the consequence was a verdict of " not guilty," a verdict which virtually acquitted the other missionaries also.

On the following day the indictment found in St. Ann's against Mr. Whitehouse was brought before the court by the attorney-general. The learned gentleman proved, in the first place, that by common law, noncon-

formity is no crime. He then examined several statutes and observed, that

“The indictment is not sustainable under the Toleration Act of Will. and Mary, which it cannot be denied is in force in this Island, as well as the 10th of Anne, cap. 9. Those statutes are clearly in force in this country, inasmuch as they were enacted and received as laws in the Island, antecedent to the period when it was declared what British statutes were in force here; for by the Jamaica statute 1 Geo. II. it was enacted, that all English statutes thereto received in Jamaica should be and continue to be laws of this Island.* Now there is no indictable offence under these statutes, for having obtained a license in one place, Mr. Whitehouse is entitled, by the 10th of Anne, to preach in any other. Therefore as Mr. Whitehouse is not committed for refusing to take the oaths, nor for any offence under these statutes, the indictment is not sustainable, from the inability of its being shown that it is an offence against the common law, or any statute of Parliament or of the colonial Legislature.”

The indictment was therefore quashed by order of the court.

By the above decision the ex-magistrates were now liable to be prosecuted for false imprisonment, and had this been done their conviction was inevitable. For

* Had the learned attorney-general established the fact, that these statutes *were received in Jamaica before 1728*, he would have fully proved them to have been in force in 1828, but this material point he overlooked. His own argument shows that all reasoning on the Jamaica act of Geo. II. goes for nothing in the absence of this essential point. Those statutes had never been so received. There was therefore no written law at all, and as by “common law nonconformity is no crime,” the magistrates were bound to protect the missionaries in the discharge of their duties.

some time indeed it was thought it might be a matter of public duty to prosecute, but all idea of it was quickly abandoned. The magistrates themselves were aware of their danger, and in fact notice was given of an intention to bring them to trial. Indeed it cannot be doubted, that one reason for their bringing on the trial for perjury, was to avoid the heavy penalties to which they were exposed ; and had the missionaries been convicted, it would not have been a matter of difficulty to do so, at least to some extent. But they had no resentful feelings even against Rose himself, and they felt sorry for Heming. He was an amiable but an inexperienced young man, and had he not been led by others, it is not likely he would ever have engaged in such proceedings. His conduct with reference to Mr. Orton's trial, shewed him not to be destitute of principle. He was present at the special court in St. Ann's, as well as Rose, and knew all that transpired ; he had equal reason to dread a prosecution for false imprisonment ; *but he never made his appearance as a witness in Spanish Town.* This circumstance was noticed with great effect by the defendant's counsel, who inquired at Rose if he knew why Heming was absent. The reply was "he was sick." On its being further inquired whether he had not seen him prior to his leaving St. Ann's, he acknowledged he had ; but was forced to confess that he saw no appearance of sickness, only he himself said he felt indisposed. This also provoked a contemptuous laugh in the court-house ; and upon the whole, the conduct of Heming in this affair appeared to the missionaries so noble, as to

make them sincerely sorry that he had been dismissed from the magistracy.

While those disagreeable proceedings were pending, the missionaries were exercised with still more painful trials, occasioned by the ravages of death. Two of their brethren fell by the hand of the last enemy. The first was Mr. T. C. Morgan, who was seized with fever about the end of August; and although at first there were no symptoms to cause much uneasiness, yet in a few days the fever increased, and on the the 2nd of September he died, after having testified that, by the grace of God, "he had gained the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."

Mr. Morgan was a man of decided piety and ardent zeal for the glory of God. For some time he was the subject of much occasional depression, and a nervous affection under which he laboured, induced a certain eccentricity of feeling, but not in the least derogatory to his character for piety and usefulness. No man was ever more ready at all times for his Master's work. In preaching the gospel, he was instant in season and out of season; and none enjoyed a larger share of the affectionate regards of his fellow-labourers. During his residence on the Island, which was only between two and three years, he was made eminently useful, especially on the Stoney Hill circuit; and in Kingston he was loved by the Societies to an uncommon degree. On the occasion of his funeral, thousands attended his remains to the tomb; and the tears which were shed, abundantly testified the high estimation in which he was held. His death hap-

pened only a few days after the arrival of another missionary of the same name, who had laboured for many years in the Windward Islands.

But the brethren and Societies in Kingston, had not recovered from this shock, before they were called to sustain another of a similar description in the death of Mr. Mark Harrison. He was seized with the usual fever, at the old chapel-house, only about a month after the death of Mr. Morgan, and from the commencement of his illness, there was but too much reason to fear that the issue would be fatal. Though his sufferings were great, he was enabled to repose unshaken confidence in his Redeemer, and his mind was kept in perfect peace. At one time, he said, that he had been often favoured with uncommon views of the love of Christ, yet never equal to what he had enjoyed under that affliction. "I see," said he, "such a fulness:" but here he was overpowered with his grateful feelings, and was unable to proceed further. They were the last words he uttered. Almost immediately afterwards he became speechless; and while seemingly quite insensible to all that was passing in his room, the indescribable placidity of his countenance shewed that all was right within. He died in Kingston, on the 7th of October, 1828, in the twenty-third year of his age and third of his ministry.

Mr. Harrison was a young man of uncommon promise. Just before his death, many were rejoicing in the pleasing anticipation, that God would make him a burning and shining light, and one day raise him to a high

elevation amongst the ministers of Jesus Christ. It is not pretended that he was exempt from infirmities with which even good men are encompassed, but it has often been remarked by those who had the best opportunities of knowing him, that they had never heard him utter one word, or seen him do anything inconsistent with his character as a Christian or his office as a minister. He was first appointed to Falmouth, where the blessing of the Lord crowned his labours in an extraordinary manner. A few months before his death he was removed to Kingston, and resided along with Mr. Murray, his superintendent. He was a man greatly beloved. His natural disposition was amiable and affectionate, which, improved by his hallowed piety, gave a charm to his whole behaviour, that was powerfully felt by all who knew him. For some time before his death, he pursued a very arduous course of study, so arduous as that his superintendent felt it his duty frequently to interrupt him, fearing that his unremitting application might be prejudicial to his health. His kind offices were acknowledged in the most grateful manner, but when on such occasions he quitted his study, he often exchanged it for the chamber of the sick and dying, to minister to their spiritual consolation. In this manner did this devoted young man pass his time

“Twixt the mount and multitude,
Doing and receiving good.”

But his course was soon finished ; and having fulfilled his ministry, he was taken to an early rest. These were not the only bereavements the mission family were called

upon to sustain. Mr. Murray was deprived by death of his most excellent wife, not long after the loss of his colleagues in the ministry. She was eminent for a meek and quiet spirit, and exemplary in the practice of every personal, social, and Christian virtue.

The new chapel in Spanish Town, which had been long in course of erection, was opened for divine worship in November. Its dimensions are 60 feet by 45 within the walls, and has galleries on three sides. The crowds attending the opening services were immense, and a hallowed feeling pervading the congregations, was thankfully acknowledged as a token of future good. Not long afterwards the third chapel in Kingston was completed, of the same measurement without, as the former within the walls ; but the erection of galleries was deferred until the growing congregation should so increase as to render it necessary.

CHAPTER X.

Session of the Legislature in 1828—Report of the “Sectarian Committee”—Slave-law of 1826 passes the Assembly and Council, but is rejected by Sir. John Keane—District-meeting of 1829—An action for Libel at the Kingston Assizes against the Rev. Mr. Barry—He is acquitted—The disallowed Slave-law again passes the Legislature and is sanctioned by the Earl of Belmore—A Missionary stationed in Port Royal—A new Chapel opened in the Town of Montego Bay—Correspondence between Mr. Whitehouse and the Governor’s Secretary—Slave-law disallowed by his Majesty William the fourth—Death of the Rev. Messrs. Vowles, Penman, and Saxton—Death of Mr. Robertson, the Steward of the Morant Bay Circuit—District-meeting of 1831—Prosperity of the Mission—Number of Members, as reported in January, 1832.

ABOUT the time the events transpired, which are related towards the close of the preceding chapter, the session of the Legislature for 1828 was commenced. After a handsome present to the lieutenant-governor, the disallowed slave-law was again brought before the house of Assembly; though many of the members at first contended that the House would compromise its dignity, were they again to legislate on the subject, until they had the explicit assurance that the restraints laid upon the governor as to the sanctioning of religious clauses, were altogether removed. To facilitate its progress, as well as to convince even the British public of its necessity, the “Sectarian Committee” finished their labours, and presented their report. To this celebrated document, the attention of the reader is particularly requested. The following is a copy, as it was read to the House:—

“ Your committee, appointed to inquire into the establishment and proceedings of the sectarians in this Island,

“ Report, That they have taken the examination of sundry persons, which examinations are here annexed, and that the principal object of the sectarians in this Island, is to extort money from their congregations by every possible pretext, to obtain which recourse has been made to the most indecent expedients.

“ That in order to further this object, and to gain an ascendancy over the negro mind, they inculcate the doctrines of equality and the rights of man ; they preach and teach sedition even from the pulpit ; and by misrepresentations and falsehood, endeavour to cast odium upon all the public authorities of this Island, not even excepting the representative of Majesty itself.

“ That the consequences have been abject poverty, loss of comfort, and discontent among the slaves frequenting their chapels, and deterioration of property to their masters.

“ Your committee therefore feel bound to report, that the interference of the missionaries between the master and the slave is dangerous, and incompatible with the political state of society in this Island ; and recommend to the House to adopt the most positive and exemplary enactments to restrain them.”

This report was received by the House with very little hesitation, and was ordered to be sent to the agent in the mother country, together with the examinations, to be by him printed and circulated as extensively as possible.

On perusing this document, the Wesleyan missionaries were astonished, as some of them had been informed by

members of the Assembly, and even by one of the committee, that their examinations, which were finished the preceding year, had given the most unqualified satisfaction. But the mystery was soon revealed; the committee had more recently called before them persons of the most avowed hostility to the Mission; and their statements were implicitly received, while those of the missionaries (who were not permitted to confront their accusers) were utterly disregarded. The reader will now excuse a few observations upon this extraordinary document.

First, The general charge is, "that the object of the missionaries, is to extort money from their congregations by every possible pretext." This assertion was grounded principally upon the depositions, which were taken by the Custos of St. Catherine, respecting the proceedings of the missionary meeting in Spanish Town, in 1825, which were handed in by that gentleman, and pressed into the service of the committee. Another ground was the testimony of the clerk of the peace of St. Ann (Mr. Coward), who stated that the slaves belonging to the late S. Drew, Esq., in his neighbourhood, "were great thieves, and very poor:" which might be true or not, but it does not affect the case, for there were not half a dozen of them connected with the Methodists. A third ground, was the testimony of a neighbouring tavern-keeper, who affirmed that at the opening of the new chapel in Spanish-Town, his wife, who was present, was so disgusted with Mr. Barry begging before the collection, that she instantly quitted

the place. But poor as this statement was, its truth is more than questionable, for several persons were ready to depose, that she left because she was unable to remain longer, on account of the crowded state of the chapel, which information they had from herself. Another witness was Daniel Saa, a weak man, but his evidence was quite immaterial.

Besides these, the author is not certain whether an answer to a question in his own evidence was not made use of, to substantiate the same charge. On his stating that the number of slaves attending the chapel at Grateful Hill averaged about two hundred, it was inquired, if he could say, as nearly as possible, how much of each public collection was contributed by them. The substance of his reply was, that it was impossible to ascertain with accuracy, but he thought a dollar was as much as was received from them, excepting on extraordinary occasions.* This answer was so taken down, as to appear doubtful whether a dollar from the whole, or from each slave was intended. He objected at the time to the equivocal way in which it was expressed, yet it was so printed afterwards; but he does not mean positively to affirm, that this was intentional, or that there was indeed any reference to it at all.

Secondly, The committee allege, that to obtain money, "they have recourse to the most indecent expedients." The "indecent expedients" were explained in the

* The reader is here informed, that a small silver coin (five-pence currency), the 1-16th of a dollar, was the smallest in circulation in Jamaica.

debate ; and in all conscience they were indecent enough, if the charge had been true ; namely, *That the missionaries had encouraged the prostitution of females, in order to obtain money.* This charge was grounded upon the testimony of Mr. Beaumont, the editor of the *Courant*, and as it referred to the Wesleyans, it must be explained.

At the Kingston missionary meeting, which Mr. Beaumont attended a few months before, the late Mr. T. C. Morgan mentioned an “expedient,” to which a woman in England, in humble circumstances, had “recourse” to obtain money for the missions. He said, she kept fowls, one of which she reserved, and its eggs or chickens were sold, and the money paid into the funds. Mr. Beaumont substituted another word for *fowls* ; (though this was probably unintentional, *for it was one equally innocent*,) and deposed, that as he saw some females holding down their heads at the time, he *thought* the meaning was indecent. Such an intimation was sufficiently detestable on the part of the witness ; but what is to be thought of the committee who, on such a statement, grounded a charge so disgusting and abominable, against a body of Christian ministers ; and which after all referred to an occurrence in England ?

Thirdly, The seditious charges contained in the report only remain to be noticed. The committee say, that the missionaries “endeavour to cast odium upon all the authorities of the Island, *not even excepting the representative of Majesty itself.*” Alas, for the Wesleyans,

for this refers to them also, and was likewise charged on the testimony of Mr. Beaumont ; who stated, that he had some years before heard a missionary in Spanish Town, speak very disrespectfully from the pulpit of the then governor, the Duke of Manchester. He afterwards explained, that the missionary he alluded to was the late Mr. Adams, who, in praying for the governor, used such terms as cast an injurious reflection on his grace's moral character.

It is admitted, that it might be no difficult matter to draw such inferences from the expressions used by Mr. Adams, as might be easily perverted by Mr. Beaumont to answer the purpose of the committee ; but that Mr. Adams was a man to speak against the public authorities, much less so to asperse them in the solemn exercise of prayer, there is the most irrefragable evidence to disprove. The reader will first attend to the character of that missionary, which appeared in some of the public papers, both of Kingston and Spanish Town, about the time of his lamented death ; which he will readily allow bears no marks whatever of a Wesleyan composition. It is as follows:—

“ Died, in Spanish Town, on the evening of the 18th inst., of the prevailing fever, the Rev. Obadiah Adams, of the Methodist persuasion, leaving a disconsolate widow to lament his premature death. He commenced his religious pursuits at the early age of nineteen, and only arrived on this Island in January last. The truly unaffected piety this gentleman evinced, during the short time he resided in this community,

and the diligent and successful discharge of his mission, have endeared his memory to an extensive circle, who will long regret the loss of so worthy and excellent a man. The liberty granted him by his honour the Custos, in April last, to preach and teach the gospel, has never been more deservedly used by any; and it can justly be said, that were such characters allowed to dispense instruction to the unenlightened throughout the Island generally, no alarm need to be entertained that any improper doctrines would be disseminated among that class of persons. Indeed he was formed in every view for the arduous duty of working that change in the minds of the slave population, so ardently desired by his Majesty's ministers, as well as by the Legislature of this Colony."

But the peaceable and prudent character of Mr. Adams was declared at that time by more substantial evidence than that which is merely verbal. It will be remembered, that the gentlemen of Spanish Town, contributed a sum amounting to nearly £100 sterling, for his widow, as a testimony of the high estimation in which he had been held.

Very little more need be said respecting this famous "Report," only let it be carefully observed, that the remarks upon it, have not been made with the view of vindicating the missionaries (for from such aspersions they need no vindication); but solely with the view of giving the reader a clearer insight into these extraordinary proceedings. Meanwhile, the author is happy to record his conviction, that were such a document, on such evidence,

brought into the House of Assembly of the present day, it would be thrown out with as much indignation as it would be in the Imperial Parliament.*

The slave-law which had been introduced into the Legislature passed, with but very little opposition; but when it was presented to Sir John Keane, he had the magnanimity to refuse his consent: so that all the schemes and labour of the Assembly were entirely frustrated and came to nothing.

At the District-meeting held in January, 1829, it was found that the increase of members throughout the preceding year amounted to 417. This was not indeed a great number, but as several stations had not been regularly supplied, the small increase was easily accounted for. But, a few weeks after the District, the brethren were gladdened by the arrival of Messrs. Penman, Vowles, Wood, and Box, on which their various stations were appointed as follows:—

* It may be observed here, that at least one of the witnesses appeared to have some misgivings as to the truth of his testimony, and therefore he resolved to make out a case by a subsequent experiment, which shall be here related. A short time after those events had transpired, a negro woman came to the Bellemont station, carrying a number of fowls, and leading an ass, well loaded with yams, plantains, &c., and offered the fowls and provisions as a present to Mrs. Whitehouse. Mrs. W. then said, that she did not accept presents from the negroes, nor did she know the woman, nor where she came from. She replied, that she came from I——, and said she had attended chapel last Sunday, when “me see Missis, and took liking to Missis, and bring dis here as present.” But though the woman continued urgent, her offer was finally rejected. It does not require any extraordinary sagacity to see through this most mean and detestable artifice, but its design was thus completely frustrated. A very short time afterwards the unhappy man died very suddenly, and it was strongly rumoured, that it was from the effects of poison, administered by his own hands.

Kingston . . .	} Messrs. MORGAN, MURRAY and VOWLES.
Spanish Town . .	Mr. BARRY.
Morant Bay . . .	Mr. KERR.
Bath	Mr. ORTON.
Grateful Hill . .	Mr. PENMAN.
Stoney Hill . . .	Mr. WOOD.
Montego Bay . . .	Mr. DUNCAN.
Falmouth	Mr. CROOKES.
St. Ann's	Mr. WHITEHOUSE.
Port Antonio . . .	Mr. EDNEY.
Savannah-la-Mar	Mr. BOX.

In the month of April, Mr. Beaumont commenced his action against Mr. Barry for libel, the grounds of which have been already stated. As it was well-known that both parties were to plead their own cause, this trial excited perhaps a deeper interest than any other which had taken place on the Island. For a long period the day had been anticipated with the most intense feelings, which were more or less experienced by all classes; and an immense majority of the whites, confidently hoped to see "sectarianism" humbled, in the degradation of one of its ministers.

The court-house was crowded at an early hour, and persons of all grades of society were mingled together, the eager spectators of this extraordinary conflict. After the plaintiff had stated his case, he proceeded to call witnesses, who were all severely cross-examined by Mr. Barry; but as the whole scope of the examinations tended rather to prove a case of sedition than the libel, Mr. Barry stated that he would call no witnesses, requesting

that the plaintiff might then address the jury, claiming to himself the right to reply. This was a course for which Mr. Beaumont was not prepared ; but as the court decided in favour of the defendant's claim, he then proceeded. Our limits will not allow a full report of those speeches, we shall only extract a few paragraphs, taken from the conclusion of each.

After a long and inflammatory address to the jury on the part of the plaintiff, he thus continued :—

“ Whether I am a fit man to hold magisterial office, is not to be decided by such men as the defendant ; the law, and some of the guardians of the law—some of the most respected and honoured men in Jamaica, who elected me to that office,—have decided that I am fit to hold that station ; and you have heard the honourable testimony these men have given this day in my favour.

“ Unless you mean to sanction such conduct as that proved against the defendant ; unless you mean to allow him, and others like him, to extort money from your slaves—to denounce the magistrates from the pulpit as devils and fools—to emulate Smith the missionary, and to turn Jamaica into another Demerara ; unless you intend to prevent any magistrate from daring to attempt to suppress their extortionate harangues, you will find this defendant guilty, and assess damages to the full amount of £2000. The damages will not be borne by Mr. Barry alone, but by the whole body he represents—the corporation—the company—the federal band of maccaroni-hunters, as maccaroni-hunters, as well in Thames Street, Kingston, as elsewhere. All will contribute to release their beloved brother from the consequences of a heavy

verdict, the consequences of too anxiously seeking after every thing, not short of a macaroni.*

“ I have placed myself foremost in the breach made by such men as the defendant, in the constitution of the country. All their energies are directed against me. I look to be supported by the juries of Jamaica, in resisting the invasions made upon her rights, by the legions of cant, extortion, and sedition. Never forget, that the sedition of Smith, a missionary, occasioned the revolt amongst the slaves in that country. Neglect me, allow me to be trampled on by those whose assaults on the citadel of our laws I have sought to repel, then their attack must be successful. Your slaves will be taught sedition, they will learn to rebel ; your lives and fortunes will be sacrificed. As your laws perish so must yourselves, your wives, and children fall.”

The defendant then rose, and after having gone over the depositions of the plaintiff's witnesses, replied to his speech ; and also allowed, and vindicated the expressions on which he had grounded his charge of libel. He thus concluded :—

“ It is with considerable regret that I trespass longer on your patience and attention, and especially as I am aware of the agony under which one of their honours has, for the last three days, maintained his seat on the Bench ; but, gentlemen, there are a few other observations with which I feel it necessary to trouble you. You are well aware of the power of the press ; you know what a tremendous engine it is in the hands

* A quarter-dollar is called in Jamaica a “ macaroni.” Hence the term macaroni-hunter was often applied to the missionaries by Mr. Beaumont, in his newspaper ; but besides the Courant and the Cornwall Courier, which was published in Falmouth, no other papers were degraded so low.

of an unbridled and unprincipled editor, who may, at will, attack the characters of the most amiable and deserving, and hold up to public scorn and derision those who possess no power to counteract slander, or justify themselves. *There*, gentlemen, is that editor. Let me ask you, whom has he not calumniated? Who has escaped his defamation and malice? Against whom has not his malignity been directed; from the highest authority on the Island to the most humble citizen, from the bishop to the curate of the Establishment? *He*, gentlemen, has dived into the secrets of families, dragging that before the public which ought ever to be concealed, and exhibiting to the gaze of the world those circumstances which, had he possessed one spark of humanity, he would have covered with the veil of oblivion. He has followed the very *dead!* and, penetrating their silence and retirement, has disturbed the repose of the tomb. He has calumniated the *memory* of a Christian missionary, and as he libelled his character when living, so he has raked up the ashes of his grave. But could I call up the shades of the dead, and confront them with their accuser—*that reckless libeller*—a single gaze of his victim (were annihilation possible) would blast him into non-existence.* Gentlemen of the jury, you have often been asked to-day by the plaintiff, ‘Is this to be endured?’ But I would ask you, is it to be endured, that a remorseless slanderer, shall with impunity level his shafts at the innocent without distinction; and when his libellous propensity is opposed, and a public justification attempted, shall it be endured that he bring an action for damages before a British jury? Gentlemen, what is my case to-day, may be yours, or their honours’ on the Bench, to-morrow. The very speech that you have heard him just now repeat, was prepared last

* The missionary alluded to is the late Mr. Grimsdall.

Sunday for publication, and you may expect, if you grant me your verdict, to be identified with me to-morrow as the betrayers of your country.

“I had the strongest possible ground for asserting, that in the plaintiff the magisterial dignity was sunk. I was aware of that for which, had I prosecuted him, he would have been declared by the laws of his country unfit to hold any public office—to hold that which he now sustains; or in case of his being guardian or executor, from suing in a court of justice, or from receiving a legacy. He has declared in my hearing, and in the presence of several witnesses, ‘That there neither is a divine revelation, nor a necessity for a divine revelation; that the miracles of Quashie and Quamina are as real, and will appear as well authenticated to posterity, as the miracles of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that religion is a mere political humbug, invented to keep the lower classes of society in awe!’ And yet that man, because that I, under such a consciousness of his unfitness for any public office, represented him as lowering the dignity of the magisterial character, dares to apply for damages to a British jury.

“Gentlemen, we have heard much of ‘moral courage;’ and are led to suppose that the plaintiff has it in a very eminent degree, as it has long constituted a very favourite topic in his publication. If to indulge in an unbridled propensity to exhibit his fellow-men to obloquy and contempt be moral courage, the plaintiff possesses it. If to attempt to excite in the public mind a revolutionary spirit be moral courage, the plaintiff possesses it. If to penetrate the retirement and privacy of the tomb and calumniate the dead be moral courage, the plaintiff possesses it. If to ransack the family record, and bring before the view of mankind the transactions over which humanity would throw a veil, be moral courage, the

plaintiff possesses it. Or if to impugn the sacred Scriptures, and propagate principles subversive of every moral obligation, be moral courage, the plaintiff has it. And though I cannot now refer to any particular authority, yet it is almost generally allowed in law, that such a man—a man the common libeller of his fellows—should possess no claim to the verdict of a jury, should he in turn become the subject of the attacks of another. The time is not far distant, when we shall appear at the tribunal of the Eternal ; and I trust, gentlemen, you will then be as fully acquitted as to the justice of your verdict, as I of having libelled the plaintiff in this case.”

The jury had scarcely retired when they returned into the court, and pronounced the verdict of “not guilty.”

The effect produced by this verdict was indescribable. The court-house echoed with the loud cheers of the crowded audience. The multitudes who stood without caught the same spirit of enthusiasm, and to the remotest bounds of the city, persons were seen in the streets shouting, waving their hats, and showing other manifestations of joy. But the issue of this case was extremely humbling to the other party. Mr. Beaumont had been repeatedly in such conflicts, and he had always come off victorious. But by this verdict, he beheld himself stripped of all his laurels, and was in an instant thrown prostrate at the feet of a Wesleyan missionary.

After having been so long employed in the detail of legislative or judicial proceedings, it is with pleasure we now turn to what is more immediately the history of the Mission. Although it is obvious that a great work of

God had been accomplished on the Island, yet there were many extensive districts unvisited, and uncheered by the light of the gospel. In the western parishes of St. Elizabeth and Westmoreland, there were indeed several settlements belonging to the Moravian brethren, but beyond their vicinity, the gross darkness of heathenism was almost unbroken. It was therefore resolved by the committee, on the recommendation of the District, to send a missionary to those destitute parts of the Island; and for that purpose Mr. Barry took a journey in March, along with Mr. Box, and it was intended for the latter to commence his labours where Providence appeared to open the door. In the town of Savannah-la-Mar, which had been once the county town of Cornwall, they were courteously received by several free persons of colour, of the first respectability; and here a house was taken, and Mr. Box immediately entered upon his labours. Besides preaching there, he visited the gaol and workhouse, and some of the most degraded of the species, listened with tears of gratitude to the news of salvation. He also took excursions to the surrounding country, preaching at Bluefields and several other places; but although there did not appear to be any extensive religious movement among the negroes, he was successful in forming a Society, which by the end of the year consisted of forty-two persons.

The congregations at Montego Bay, had been long incommoded for want of a suitable chapel, and the sanction of the committee having been obtained, the missionary who went there after the District, received

directions to set about the erection of a new one as speedily as possible. The first stone of this building was laid on the 12th of March, in the presence of a vast multitude, who were assembled on the occasion. This ceremony was to have been performed by John Manderson, Esq., but that gentleman having been confined to his room by severe illness, his place was supplied by one of the missionaries.

Hitherto no Society had been formed in Hanover, but a number of free persons in Lucea, the principal town in that parish, had been long and earnestly soliciting some one to "come over and help them." About the middle of this year, the missionary at Montego Bay (which town was twenty-five miles distant) paid them a visit; and hired a house for preaching. In presenting this house to the Quarter-Sessions, much opposition was expected; but there was none at all, and in no instance had any parochial court shown greater courtesy. He continued to preach to large congregations, as often as his engagements at Montego Bay would permit; and a small Society was formed, which in the following year became connected with that of Savannah-la-Mar.

Under the ministry of Mr. Whitehouse, there was also a great extension of the work in the parish of St. Ann. The chapel at Bellemont being insufficient to contain the congregation, he purchased a place about eight miles distant, known by the name of Botany Bay, (on which Ebenezer chapel was afterwards erected), and many of the members belonging to Bellemont from that

time attended there, as being nearer to their places of residence. Miss Jarvis having been long and earnestly desirous to have her large house at Ocho Rios, regularly settled upon the Methodist plan, that it might be entirely set apart for the preaching of the gospel, this, for little more than a merely nominal sum, was effected in course of the year. Mr. Whitehouse also extended his labours as far eastward as Oracabessa and Port Maria, in the parish of St. Mary, and in both these places he was instrumental in the formation of Societies.

Besides those already mentioned, new Societies were formed on Buff Bay, in the parish of St. George, connected with the Port Antonio circuit. Also, in the mountains of St. John, and at a place known by the name of Lyme Savannah, in the parish of Clarendon, which were visited from Spanish Town. Preaching was also commenced at Rocky Point, in St. Thomas in the East, and a large Society was formed, consisting principally of members removed from Bath. These new openings required additional missionaries, and towards the close of the year, Messrs. Pennock, Greenwood, and Saxton arrived; but Mr. Orton was compelled to leave the Island, on account of the dangerous state of his health, and early in the ensuing year he was followed by Mr. Barry.

In course of the year 1829, the Earl of Belmore arrived as the new governor, and under his administration, the missionaries expected much benefit would result to the Island, then in a very unsettled state. But an event transpired during the Session of the Legislature, which

appeared to fill every one with surprise. This was no other than the passing of the slave-law, which had been previously disallowed, which, after having gone through the Assembly, and Council, received his lordship's sanction. There were indeed several alterations in the religious clauses, but they only rendered them more stringent than before. The missionaries could not do otherwise than behold this event with alarm. They feared that the instructions given by the Colonial Office had been withdrawn, for they never could suppose, that any man on earth would have so palpably violated them by passing such a law, had they continued in force. There had been also several changes in the Cabinet, since the date of Mr. Huskisson's despatch, which increased their fears; but whatever might be the issue, they were as firmly resolved as ever, to adhere both to their doctrines and discipline, leaving the whole matter in the hands of Almighty God.

The District of 1830 sat as usual in Kingston, and was in some respects one of the most discouraging which had been held for many years. Although several new places had been opened, at which Societies were formed, yet on a few of the older circuits the work had rather declined. The total increase of members appeared on the minutes to amount only to thirty-one, but in reality it was about 200 more; for at the preceding District, a mistake had been made in the returns from Montego Bay, amounting to nearly that number. But the discovery of that mistake did little to remove the discouragement, for it was still evident that the whole

increase during the space of two years was under 500, which was less than it had been for twenty years before.

At the close of this District, Mr. Murray removed to Port Royal, in which a neat mission-house had been erected under his superintendency. The building contained a convenient preacher's residence on the first floor, and a remarkably neat and commodious chapel above. It may be worthy of notice, that these premises were built upon the site of a house in which Mr. Fishley, the first Methodist in Port Royal, resided, and in which the early missionaries preached under very discouraging circumstances. Now the scene was changed, and Port Royal became the place of a minister's residence; and the handsome new chapel was well attended by pious and respectable congregations.

On Easter Sunday, the 24th of March, the new Chapel at Montego Bay was opened by Mr. Kerr, of Spanish Town. The walls are principally built with a rough durable stone, but cased outside with brick. Its dimensions are 66 feet by 46, with a gallery opposite the pulpit; and as it was seated, was capable of comfortably accommodating about 800 persons. The efforts made by the Society for the erection of this chapel were highly praiseworthy, and the liberality of Miss Rebecca Waite, Miss Ann Yatman, and others, cannot be forgotten. Great credit was also due to Messrs. Appleton and Anderson, the stewards, both for their contributions and diligence; but they all felt highly rewarded in the prosperity of the work of God, and in witnessing increased

accommodation for many who were enquiring the way to heaven.

In course of this year, a very extraordinary correspondence took place between Mr. Whitehouse, and the late Mr. Bullock, the governor's secretary. Though every part of this correspondence is of great interest and importance, yet our limits will only allow of a few extracts.* In the year 1828, Mr. Whitehouse addressed a letter to the committee, complaining that Henry Williams, an excellent leader belonging to the Bellemont Society, but a slave, had been sent to the workhouse of Rodney-Hall, in St. Thomas in the Vale, where he had been severely flogged, only for attending the Wesleyan chapel. This was done by the order of Mr. Betty, his attorney, who, it was alleged, was instigated to do so by Mr. Bridges, the rector of the parish. It was also stated, that the sister of Henry Williams was severely flogged, merely for sighing at the sight of her brother's undeserved, but most cruel suffering. He also complained of Mr. Bridges himself causing a negro, named George, belonging to a Mrs. Simpson, to be cruelly punished, he being also a member of Society at St. Ann's Bay. The Missionary Committee in London sent his letter to the Colonial Office; and Sir George Murray, the secretary for the Colonies, wrote to Lord Belmore, demanding that the charge of such inhuman barbarities should be duly investigated. Mr. Betty, though he did not deny the

* A considerable part of the correspondence here alluded to may be found in the Missionary Notices for May, 1831.

charge affected to view his accuser with contempt ; but avowed his readiness to answer in any court of justice, or to any constituted authority, to whatever might be brought against him. It appears that Mr. Bridges also allowed, that he did use *his influence* to induce Henry Williams “to leave the sectarians, because he was an intelligent person.” But respecting the negro George, a letter, with his signature, which was published gives the following explanation :—

“The fact is, the negro in question was in the habit of trespassing on my premises ; and my own servants having been continually preferring complaints of depredations committed by him, I certainly, on one occasion, several years ago, and after giving him repeated warnings without effect, took the law into my own hands, as to order them to drive him from their gardens, where he was idling ; when one of the cattle-boys cracked a whip at him, and followed him running to the gate. But that he received any such flagellation as is described by this Methodist preacher, I absolutely deny, nor was I then aware that he was under the influence of the sectarians.”

About the same time, Mr. Whitehouse received a letter from the governor's secretary, stating that he had been commanded by his excellency to say, that if he had any complaint against Mr. Betty, the proper course would be to lay authentic documents, verified by oath, in the Crown Office, when proceedings would be commenced against him. Mr. Whitehouse addressed a long communication to the governor, assigning reasons why he could not become the prosecutor in this case, but at

the same time stating the evidence upon which he had grounded his several charges. To this the secretary returned an answer, the principal design of which seems to have been, to reprove him for addressing the governor directly, and not through the medium of his secretary ; and he observed, that it was unnecessary to reply in detail to the “diffuse and impertinent observations contained in his letter to the governor, which seemed to be for the purpose of drawing his excellency into a correspondence, which would be very unsuitable for his Majesty’s representative to enter into.” Mr. Whitehouse immediately sent a dignified rejoinder, still maintaining his former position, but observed, that “he regretted anything in his letter had been considered by his lordship as impertinent,” and disavowed any intended disrespect ; but, said he, “I fain hope, that you had not his lordship’s commands to apply the term ‘impertinent’ to me, or my communication. But however it might have originated, I beg to observe, that its use is scarcely consistent with the civility or decorum of official correspondence.”

A short time after this Mr. Betty died, but the whole correspondence was sent to the Colonial Office. Sir George Murray was succeeded in the secretaryship by Lord Goderich ; but his lordship seems to have examined it with no common attention. Although it was admitted by him that the explanation of Mr. Bridges, in the case of the negro George, was satisfactory, yet his lordship fully justified the course adopted by Mr. Whitehouse ; and expressed his high disapprobation of the language

made use of by the governor's secretary, suggesting the propriety of his excellency "admonishing him" to avoid it for the future.

"My sense," said his lordship, "of what is due to a gentleman engaged in the highly meritorious and painful, though ill requited, labours of a missionary, has drawn from me the preceding observations ; which have not been written without much reluctance, because I feel that your lordship may, perhaps, consider them as involving some disapprobation of your public conduct. But not even my disinclination to augment the embarrassment inseparable, in the present state of public opinion, from the government of Jamaica, is sufficiently strong, to prevent my pointing out to your lordship, in the most distinct manner, the necessity of your affording your countenance and protection to the ministers of religion, while conducting themselves inoffensively ; and the still more urgent necessity for a rigid and impartial scrutiny into every such abuse of the owner's power, as was brought to your notice by Mr. Whitehouse in the case of Mr. Betty's slaves,"

Thus far everything was honourable to Mr. Whitehouse, but the reproof was painfully felt at the government house by the Secretary. It was admitted, however, that the explanation of Mr. Bridges was satisfactory with reference to his treatment of the negro George. Several months elapsed before Mr. Whitehouse saw a copy of what purported to be this explanation, (which has already been transcribed), but as soon as it was brought under his notice, he addressed another communication to the missionary secretaries, which was published at full length in the Jamaica Watchman. In this

letter he gives up nothing he had formerly written, but in addition, he enters into a variety of sickening details, which for obvious reasons cannot be related. It will be sufficient to say, that throughout the whole correspondence the laborious missionary shews himself well able to stop the mouths of gainsayers, and to put to silence the reproaches of malignant and persecuting men.

The reader has already been informed, that a slave-law, substantially the same with that which had been previously rejected, passed the Legislature in 1829, and received the sanction of the Earl of Belmore. On the tidings of this event reaching Great Britain, the Missionary Committee immediately forwarded a memorial to the Colonial Office, exposing the injurious and intolerant character of the law, and praying that his Majesty might be graciously pleased to disallow it. The missionaries waited for the royal decision with great anxiety, and at last a despatch from Sir George Murray announced that God was better to them than all their fears. This despatch was truly an extraordinary document, and reflected the highest honour upon the Colonial Secretary. It was addressed to the governor, who was reminded that his act was contrary to his instructions; that his predecessor had refused his sanction to a similar law, which conduct was highly approved of by his Majesty. He was also admonished, that the most proper course for him to pursue in future would be to abide by his instructions. And, finally, he was directed to lay the despatch before the House of Assembly. As this was one of the first acts of his late Majesty William the

fourth, the missionaries felt it difficult to restrain such expressions of joy as might have been calculated to give offence, and provoke unnecessarily the anger of their enemies. Their people were therefore advised to go privately to the throne of grace, and there to return thanks to "Him by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice." But throughout the whole British Empire his Majesty had not a body of subjects more attached to his person and government than the Wesleyan Methodists of Jamaica.

The Assembly was now in a most pitiable condition. They beheld all their anxious labours entirely blasted, and there well-laid schemes given to the winds of heaven, while all hope of future success was taken away. Great was the rejoicing when Sir George Murray succeeded the late Mr. Huskisson. "Sir George was no saint, but a soldier, a statesman, and a true friend to the Colonies." But now, alas, he was represented as "The most saint-ridden secretary who had ever been in the Colonial Office." Even the Duke of Wellington admonished them to encourage the religious instruction of their negroes, "for such was the progress of liberal opinions, that the day of their freedom could not be delayed much longer." They also beheld their governor, in effect, reprimanded for sanctioning their favourite measure, while the missionaries were pursuing their peaceful course, as if regardless of all that passed. Year after year they had been making concessions to the free coloured population, but they were attended with such humbling conditions as caused them only to be rejected

with disdain ; while the names of the few who availed themselves of them were published in one of the newspapers, and thus held up to the scorn of their countrymen. At this time the Assembly were under the necessity of granting all they desired, but as this appeared so forced, and was so long delayed, and as the free coloured body had ceased to solicit their rights at their hands, looking for them entirely from the justice of the mother country, the concession, when it came, awakened no feelings of gratitude whatsoever. Great Britain was loudly complained of, and represented as a “cruel step-mother” trampling upon the Colonies, and seeking the destruction of her children. It is true she was beginning to correct her wayward sons, and under the infliction they did wail most piteously. But thus much must in justice be said for them, that had she managed them with a firmer hand at an earlier period, such correction would have been wholly unnecessary.

It now becomes once more our painful task to record the ravages of death. No fewer than three of the missionaries were, in the course of this year, called from their field of labour to their eternal reward.

The first was Mr. Vowles, who had arrived on the Island in March, 1829, and for the remainder of that year laboured in Kingston with great acceptance. At the District of 1830 he was sent to Port Antonio, on which circuit he finished his course with joy. He was a man of highly respectable talents, of a most amiable and engaging disposition, and his humble and conciliating behaviour secured the affections of all who knew

him. After a severe illness of eight days, he died in great peace, at Port Antonio, in the twenty-fourth year of his age.

The next was Mr. Penman, who came to Jamaica at the same time with Mr. Vowles. He was the son of one of our ministers in England, and after being employed two years at home, offered himself for the missionary work. He was a man of great activity, and of promising talents; but while his brethren and the church were looking forward to future years of usefulness, the Master whom he served, was pleased to release him early from his toil and labour and to take him to himself. He died at Morant Bay, on the 8th of November, in the twenty-seventh year of his age and fifth of his ministry.

In less than three weeks after the death of Mr. Penman the brethren had to mourn over the loss of Mr. Saxton. This most excellent young man had only been about a year on the Island, which had been nearly all spent in the parish of St. Ann's. His talents for the ministry did not appear to be very extraordinary, but for deep piety, and a prudent, but burning zeal for the glory of God, he was surpassed by none of his fellow-labourers. His preaching was always characterised by much earnestness and affection, and was eminently attended by the power of the Holy Ghost. Mr. Whitehouse found in him a useful, holy, and zealous colleague; and the depth of his fervent piety commanded the respect of all his brethren, who saw and admired the grace of God in him. He died at Bellemont, of apoplexy, on the 27th of November, and in the second year of his itinerancy.

About the same time the Society in Morant Bay sustained no common loss in the death of Mr. Charles Robertson, the excellent steward of that circuit. In early life he was converted to God, through the instrumentality of Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion*; and, until his death, he was an ornament to his Christian profession, loved and respected by all with whom he was acquainted. He had been a member of the Methodist Society upwards of twenty years, and filled the various lay offices, with great credit to himself and advantage to the cause of God. He was a trustee for some of the chapels; and as a circuit steward, the missionaries often derived incalculable advantage from his strict integrity and judicious counsels. He had several classes at the time of his death, and no man on the Island had ever, in that office, been more successful in training souls for eternal life. His death happened a few years after that of his most excellent wife, who was truly a help meet for so worthy and so useful a man. She also was the leader of a large female class, and under her watchful care many were instructed and upheld in the way of righteousness. Her attention to the wants of the missionaries can never be forgotten, and especially during the times of sickness and affliction. She had often night and day ministered to their necessities while suffering from the burning rage of fever, and has sometimes closed their eyes when they slept the sleep of death. The writer here feels acutely. He remembers "the days of other years," and can say with the apostle, "She hath been a succourer unto many, and unto myself also."

Thus this exemplary couple, like Zacharias and Elizabeth, “walked in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless ;” and after having served their day and generation they fell asleep, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life.

At the District of 1831 the reports from the various stations showed a decrease of members amounting to 105, a circumstance which had not occurred for between twenty and thirty years before. But, notwithstanding this, the brethren were not discouraged, as they had been the preceding year ; a considerable number had been received on trial ; chapels had been built, and opened at Old Harbour on the Spanish Town Circuit ; one additional in St. Ann’s, which was named “ Ebenezer,” and another on the same circuit at Oracabessa, in the parish of St. Mary ; three new missionaries were also present ; and altogether their prospects were such, as warranted the anticipation of a prosperous year.

At this District Mr. Murray removed from Port Royal to Montego Bay, and under his ministry the work of God continued to prosper. He was instrumental in forming a Society at a place called “The Ramble,” situated about eighteen miles distant from the town, and in the neighbourhood of which many of the members resided. Here the earnest desire manifested by the negroes to attend the means of grace, deserves particularly to be noticed. About three hundred resided from twelve to twenty miles from the Bay, yet they attended every opportunity, although after the early services they had immediately to return. The new

station of “The Ramble” was primarily obtained for their accommodation, but as it was in the midst of a vast slave population, its importance for the extension of the work of God was very obvious. Mr. Murray rented a house for preaching which had been used as a blacksmith’s shop, but though it was the most commodious he could procure, it was too small for the increasing congregations.

In course of the year 1831, the Mission furnished but few materials for narration. Although it was not without its trials, it was a year of great prosperity; and the brethren felt abundant cause of gratitude to God. Five additional missionaries were sent out to their assistance; not one had been called away by death; and Mr. Morgan only removed from the Island for England. New chapels had been erected at Unity, on the Grateful Hill circuit, and at Red Hills, which stood connected with Kingston South; and the increase of members on the Island amounted to 803. But as an event occurred, which prevented the sitting of the District at the regular time, and which must occupy a great part of the following chapter, we shall conclude the present, by subjoining a list of the circuits, with the number of members belonging to each, as they were reported by letters from the brethren in January, 1832:—

Kingston North	2778
Kingston South	1709
Spanish Town	720

Carried forward . . 5207

Brought forward	5207
Morant Bay	2259
Grateful Hill	735
Stoney Hill	257
Montego Bay	1090
Falmouth	960
St. Ann's, &c.	1499
Port Antonio, &c.	744
Lucea and Savannah-la-Mar	84
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Total	12,835
Last year	12,025
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Increase	810
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CHAPTER. XI.

Insurrection of the Slaves in December, 1831—Extracts from Colonial Publications—Arrest of the Rev. William Box—State of the Society in Montego Bay—Rev. Messrs. Kerr and Wood visit Ocho Rios and are arrested—Arrest of Miss Jarvis—Colonial Church Union—Extraordinary fidelity of the Wesleyan Negroes during the Insurrection—Demolition of Chapels in Falmouth, St. Ann's and Oracabessa—State of Kingston—Intended attack on the new Chapel prevented—Proclamation of the Mayor—Sufferings of the Wesleyan Negroes on the north-side of the Island—Robert Lamont—John Baillie—Execution of John Davidson—Sentence of death passed on James Malcolm—Sufferings of Henry Williams—Brutal assault on Rev. Henry Bleby in Falmouth—Meeting of the Legislature—Report of the "Rebellion Committee"—Resolutions of the Wesleyans against it—Rev. Messrs. Wood and Greenwood visit St. Ann's—Letter of the Custos of that Parish—The Earl of Belmore leaves the Island—Chapel Destroyers prosecuted at the Supreme Court—The Grand Jury return the Bill "Ignoramus"—Rioters at Falmouth prosecuted but the Grand Jury also ignore the Bill—Trial of the Editor of the Watchman for Libel—Rev. Mr. Greenwood preaches in Port Maria, and is twice imprisoned—Writ of Habeas Corpus for his release refused—Arrest of the Rev. James Rowden and his subsequent Imprisonment at Morant Bay—Montego Bay Chapel shut up by order of the Quarter Sessions.

THE attention of the reader is now to be directed to an event, in itself the most disastrous that had ever transpired in the history of Jamaica ; namely, the insurrection of the negroes in December, 1831. He is, however, reminded that this is a narrative of the Wesleyan Mission and not of that melancholy occurrence. But as the most strenuous endeavours were made to involve the missionaries in the guilt of that affair, and as the history of the Mission became otherwise much affected by it, it will be necessary to glance at public events which

were then passing, that others which arose out of them may be seen in their proper light.

The inveterate hostility of the whites to the mother country, which had been awakened by the discussions on Colonial Slavery, had been long cherished by the leading newspapers on the Island, and in particular by the notorious *Courant*. That publication, by pandering to the worst passions of the planters, had so exasperated them both against the teachers of religion and the parent government, as even in Jamaica was beyond all precedent. The House of Assembly became thoroughly imbued with its spirit and principles, and their debates were not unfrequently of the most inflammatory, not to say seditious, description. Their disloyalty completely alienated from them the affection and respect of the free coloured and black population, who were devotedly attached to Great Britain, and who in the towns were fully equal to the whites, and in many instances superior to them in general information. It has been already stated, that the recent concessions to that body had in no degree conciliated their affections; for being granted with so bad a grace, and at a time when their rights were sought for elsewhere, the Legislature only discovered its own weakness, and instead of feelings of gratitude produced those of contempt. The repeated failures in their attempts to enact persecuting laws to crush the missionaries, under the flimsy and hypocritical pretence of goodwill to the slaves (whose best interests they entirely disregarded); and also the notorious and unblushing falsehood of such measures as those connected with the

“Sectarian Committee,” lost for them the confidence of all unprejudiced men, whether in the Colony or at home.

In the meantime, the slaves were not ignorant of these movements; but their knowledge was only partial, and in general drawn from such sources as were likely to produce the most unfavourable impression on their minds. They were in the daily habit of listening to the clamours of their overseers and others against the government of the mother country, for endeavouring to bring about a measure of emancipation; while Colonial resistance was as much vaunted of, as if the weakness of Britain could no more withstand the power of Jamaica, than a worm could resist the stroke of a thunderbolt. Parochial meetings were held in 1831, at which the most violent resolutions were adopted. They were nearly all of a similar description. They complained that the government were aiming at the destruction of their property, that is, the emancipation of the slaves. They engaged to stand by each other in resisting such a measure, and some of them claimed to be absolved from their allegiance to the British crown. The slaves were not unacquainted with these proceedings; and, having but an imperfect knowledge of the general state of affairs, they received the impression, that the King had made them free, but that the white people on the Island were determined to keep them in a state of slavery. Here, let it be remarked, that the Sovereign had not, throughout his dominions, a body of more loyal and devoted subjects than they were; but it is not neces-

sary to say, that they had no great love for their overseers. However much, therefore, it is to be deplored, it can hardly be wondered at, that in such circumstances they should be easily induced to use violent means to obtain that freedom which the King, whom they honoured, desired to bestow; and to escape from slavery, which those only whom they neither loved nor honoured desired to perpetuate. The failure of a motion of Mr. Beaumont's in the House of Assembly, to abolish female flogging, made the impression that any mitigation of their present evils was not to be looked for from that body. Their few civil and religious privileges (if such they can be called) were in many instances wantonly tampered with; while they were sometimes tantalized with the names of Wilberforce and Buxton, in a way which was almost impossible for human nature to bear. In a word, the distracted state of the Island rendered it evident that some eventful crisis was at hand; although an insurrection of the negroes on a scale so formidable and extensive was, perhaps, expected by none.

The insurrection first broke out in the parish of St. James, of which Montego Bay is the chief town. Several fires were seen on the the night of the 28th of December, and in a few evenings the work of destruction spread to the adjoining parishes of Trelawney, Hanover, Westmoreland, and St. Elizabeth. There were partial disturbances even in the distant districts of Portland and Manchioneal; and though the intervening parishes were quiet, the symptoms of a general insurrection were such as to create universal alarm. Martial law was proclaimed

by Lord Belmore on the 31st of December ; the Island was divided into military districts, each under the command of a major-general of militia ; and in a short time the various parochial regiments were all under arms.

It was allowed on all hands, that at first it was not the object of the insurgent negroes to take life, and in this their moderation was acknowledged, and even eulogized by their enemies ; but after the commencement of the military executions, and when many of their numbers were shot in the woods, then indeed they retaliated, but not more than from six to ten were spoken of as having been killed by them during the whole insurrection. But the destruction of property was immense, although it was admitted, that much of this would have been prevented, had not the Western Interior regiment of militia, under the command of Colonel Grignon, fled from a rabble of negroes, consisting of about three hundred men and women, of whom very few were armed. This circumstance left that part of the country entirely open, nor was the career of desolation checked until Sir Willoughby Cotton, the commander-in-chief, appeared with a body of regular troops, who were speedily marched to the scene of action. The negroes no sooner knew of this than they submitted ; for it never was their intention to rise against the authority of the parent state ; and on the 5th of February, by the governor's proclamation, martial law was declared to be at an end.

The Earl of Belmore, in his address to the Assembly, was pleased to say that the rising of the negroes was "unprovoked." This is utterly unaccountable. The pro-

vocation was almost intolerable, and time may yet show, whether, in some instances, the negroes were not directly instigated to violence for the purpose of casting odium upon the missionaries.* But be that as it may, the conduct of the insurgents is justly to be [reprobated ; and in this sentiment no class of persons more readily agreed than the missionaries of all denominations. At the same time, it cannot be concealed, that they were punished with such a barbarous severity, and that the whole insurrection was subdued in a manner so sanguinary and ferocious, as to be revolting to humanity, and disgraceful to any country pretending to civilization. Probably no fewer than three hundred were hanged or shot, by sentences of courts martial, or of the civil magistrates ; military floggings both of men and women, were a constant exercise ; many hundreds were shot by parties of the militia ; the woods were scoured by the Maroons, who received a certain sum of money *for every pair of human ears they produced* ; and the carnage would have been much more extensive, had it not been for Sir Willoughby Cotton, who exerted himself to the utmost to prevent it ; and it ought also to be mentioned that the free coloured and blacks, serving in the militia, conducted themselves throughout the whole affair in a

* This thought has been ridiculed, and it has been asked, whether it can be believed, that any man would instigate the negroes to destroy his own property ? Perhaps not ; but it never was pretended that the instigators of the negroes had property to destroy. The overseers, the parties alluded to, had no property. Such found it easier to kindle the fire than to put it out. It is not, however, suspected that many directly instigated the negroes to the work of destruction.

way equally honourable both to their courage and humanity.*

Immediately on the breaking out of the disturbances, the rage of the planters and others against the missionaries, exceeded all bounds. It was even perilous to profess towards them any degree of sympathy or friendship. The "Jamaica Watchman," however, fearless of danger, boldly vindicated their cause; and even the "Kingston Chronicle," a paper conducted on Colonial principles, demanded on their behalf the right of every British subject, namely, that they ought not to suffer until they were proved to be guilty. But the "Courant," which was by far the most influential, literally clamoured for their blood. For some time before, Mr. Beaumont had retired from that publication, and was succeeded by William Bruce. This low individual was destitute of the talents of his predecessor, and was remarkable for that inveterate opposition to the missionaries which, for ambitious ends, he only professed. The "Cornwall Courier," which was published in Falmouth, was equally

* Although it is not pretended to give an exact account of the number of executions, yet the statement given above will doubtless appear so horrible as to require some farther observation. Although the missionaries in the agitated districts were unable to ascertain the numbers with precision, yet they thought they amounted to about *four hundred*. The witnesses on the Colonial side, before the Commons' Committee on Slavery, estimated them from a hundred to a hundred and twenty. The estimate of the former parties was perhaps too high, as that of the latter was too low. But, probably, nothing in the account will appear so shocking as the barbarities of the Maroons: but in an extract from even the Cornwall Chronicle, now before the writer, which was published at the time, these are alluded to in a manner so cold blooded that the heart sickens on reading it. The unhappy Colonists were in a state of perfect frenzy, and both justice and mercy were asleep.

violent. Its proprietor and editor was William Dyer, who was permitted to retain the office of the magistracy, which by his conduct he so much disgraced. That the reader may see the spirit of these malignant journals, the following paragraphs are inserted, as specimens. His attention is first directed to an extract from the "Courier," published during the first week in January, 1832. It is as follows:—

"We have for a long time used every exertion to show, that the missionaries in this Island were inculcating our slave population with principles and doctrines most dangerous to the well-being of this Island. The acts of rebellion and incendiariism committed, and still committing, in this parish and St. James's, are occasioned by the slaves having been misguided and deceived by the sectarians. Let the blood that must be spilt rest on the heads of the instigators. We can only now state, that facts of the rebellion having been actually preached to the slaves, and instilled into their minds, are hourly coming to light.

"What satisfaction can it be to the anti-colonial faction in England, to see the work of destruction that has been instigated by their emissaries in this Island? Hecatombs of the once peaceful and contented slave population of Jamaica we fear must be offered up, ere a stop will be put to the rebellion which has been infused into their minds. Immediate steps should be taken to place the whole of the sectarian preachers in the Island, if not in close custody, at least under a most rigid surveillance. This is not the time for half-and-half measures."

Our next paragraph is extracted from the "Courant," published about the same time. The editor says,—

“ Our enemies unhappily are numerous, both here and in the mother country, and heaven knows this fact was repeatedly pointed out to the inhabitants of this Island by the writer of the present article ; but his cautions and predictions were not only discarded, but he was charged by many of his best friends with cherishing a feeling of hatred, and without just grounds, against the sectarians. This he utterly disclaims ; but from the information with which he was so constantly furnished enabled him to state facts which few even of his friends would believe. But as he had a duty to perform to his country, he persevered in exposing the machinations of the sectarians, as well as the motives by which their conduct was governed. Still the writer’s best friends said, ‘ Bruce, let the Methodists alone, they will be found out by and by.’ In defiance, however, of all this he persevered, because he knew that truth would ultimately prevail over villany, falsehood, and hypocrisy. Shall the woeful tale be told ? Shall it now be said that the editor of this paper is an incendiary ? No, he exerted every means in his power to prevent it, but the sectarian preachers have been too many for him : but they have now the pleasing satisfaction of knowing, that they have succeeded in rendering the fairest fields in Jamaica barren wastes, and have sent forth many of our most respectable families into the world houseless, and destitute of the means of existence. These indeed must be gratifying reflections to men *who pretend to preach and teach the mild and benign doctrines of our Saviour to our slaves*, but whose souls are bent upon the destruction of the fairest portion of the British Empire, and that merely because they are paid by the Anti-Slavery Society to hasten our ruin. They have progressed one step too fast, and we may, perhaps, be able to make their infamous conduct recoil upon themselves.

Three Baptist preachers are now in custody, and as we are satisfied they would not have been taken into custody upon slight grounds by Sir Willoughby Cotton,* we hope he will award them fair and impartial justice. Shooting is, however, too honourable a death for men whose conduct has occasioned so much bloodshed and the loss of so much property. There are fine hanging woods in Trelawney, and we do sincerely hope, that the bodies of all the Methodist preachers who may be convicted of sedition, may diversify the scene. After this, our hostility, even to men so reckless of blood, carnage, and slaughter, shall cease."

We shall adduce only another specimen, the leading article of the "Courant" of January 20th :—

"We have taken every pains," says the editor, "and we acknowledge our obligations to our friends for the very handsome manner they have furnished us with the information relative to the disturbed districts, which we are enabled to lay before our readers. In the absence of positive information it may be unkind to blame any one; but we grieve to say, that the temporising measures which have been carried on, are likely to prolong the unfortunate contest now existing between the proprietors and their deluded slaves, who have been goaded on to rebellion by a set of miscreants, who believe themselves above the law, merely because General Murray hesitated to carry the sentence of the court martial against Smith of Demarara into immediate execution. These scoundrels consider themselves the aristocracy of the Island, from the impunity with which their proceedings have been hitherto viewed; and they declare, through the medium of their own press, that the people of Jamaica dare not interfere

* They were not taken into custody by Sir W. Cotton.

with the favoured spies of our foes of Aldermanbury. The preachers will soon find themselves wrong; for though we admit, that the supineness with which their conduct has been viewed may have led them to draw such a conclusion, they may, however, shortly find themselves mistaken, as impunity in crime has made them treasonable; and for the proof of this assertion, we look to the confessions of those miserable wretches who have been sacrificed to *please Jesus Christ and parson Burchell!* God forbid that we should advocate any measure contrary to the principles of British law, and what is still more material to us—*self-preservation*; but we do maintain, that evidence has been adduced against several of the Methodist incendiaries, who now reside among us, which, in any other country, would have speedily consigned them to the gallows: and unless a *batch* of these vagabondising reverends are held *up*, as patterns to their congregations, we may imagine the consequence: and the wretches ought to bless God, that they live in a country where the use of the dagger and the stiletto are unknown.”

The reader cannot mistake the meaning and object of the above extracts. They have been given merely as specimens; but for months the public papers abounded with similar articles, equally sanguinary and cruel. The infuriated Colonists were hurried onward by such mercenary editors, until many were covered with infamy, and plunged into ruin. In the persecutions which followed, both the Moravian and Baptist missionaries, had a large share of suffering and reproach. It is from no want of respect to Christian brethren of these denominations, that their unmerited trials are not particularly detailed; many of them have been already

brought before the public in various ways, and our limits will only allow the attention of the reader to be directed in this narrative to what transpired in connection with the Wesleyan Mission.

The annual District-meeting having been called to assemble in Kingston, about the beginning of January, a few of the brethren arrived at the appointed time. The Island being then under martial law, they obtained passports from the major-general of militia, allowing them to journey unmolested. None of them suffered any material interruption, excepting Mr. Box, in traveling from Falmouth. On Sunday morning, January 1st, while holding public worship in that town, he received a summons to attend a militia court of inquiry, with the view to his bearing arms; but on the following morning he waited on the colonel, before whom he laid his case and obtained a passport for Kingston. He met with but little hindrance until he reached Spanish Town, but on tarrying there a short time, he was arrested in virtue of an order received by express from Falmouth. At first he was taken to the guard-room, where he was kept for the night, but on the following morning he was removed to the gaol, and lodged in a cell which had been occupied by a condemned felon. In course of the day he was allowed to go out into the prison-yard, but was locked up at night in that apartment, which was so infested with vermin, and was otherwise so loathsome, that sleep was altogether impossible. In that condition he was detained a prisoner for the space of five days, until an express returned from Falmouth,

which had been sent by the governor, and no charge whatsoever having been made against him, he was released by order of his excellency.

The brethren in Kingston received a communication from Mr. Murray, (then stationed in Montego Bay), in which he informed them, that such was the dreadful state of affairs in that town and neighbourhood, that he could not think it prudent to leave the place, even for a single day. The chapel having been taken as a garrison for the military, there was indeed no public worship; but his presence with the Society was of immense importance. The conduct of this intrepid missionary was most heroic. His was a station of the greatest danger, and in the midst of terror, confusion, and death, he visited his people from house to house, unmoved by the angry threatenings daily denounced against "sectarians" and "sectarianism." He frequently attended the courts martial, which were almost constantly sitting. He looked his enemies in the face wherever he found them. He was also particularly attentive in visiting the Rev. Messrs. Whitehorne, Knibb, and Abbot, the three Baptist missionaries, then under arrest; and, by his calm and fearless demeanor, he compelled even the whites to acknowledge he had no hand in the insurrection. But what very much contributed to his comfort, was the remarkable fact, that amongst the vast numbers of prisoners daily brought into town, no Wesleyan was to be found. This was indeed more than could have been expected, but so it was, that as far as the examinations had proceeded, Mr. Murray had every reason to conclude

that his people were walking worthy of their Christian profession.

As it was found, that the District-meeting could not be held, it was judged highly proper for the brethren to return to their stations, where it was practicable; and Mr. Kerr (who was appointed to succeed Mr. Whitehouse in St. Ann's), along with Mr. Wood, his colleague, actually formed the desperate resolution of visiting the Societies in that parish. After some interruption by an officer of militia, at an inn called "The Rest," they proceeded on their journey, and arrived the same evening at Ocho Rios. They had scarcely sat down to partake of some refreshment, which was prepared by Miss Catherine Jarvis, when they heard a person in the chapel exclaiming, "Is Whitehouse here?" Mr. Kerr instantly left the table, and found he was a Lieutenant Taylor of the militia, attended by two of his comrades, and armed with a pair of pistols. He informed him, that Mr. Whitehouse was not in the parish, but that himself and Mr. Wood were the ministers appointed for that year to St. Ann's. "Then," said Taylor, "I arrest you both in the King's name, you are my prisoners;" and on hearing this Miss Jarvis stepped out, and she was arrested also. Mr. Kerr then requested to know the distance they had to go, and on being informed it was about three miles, he ordered their boy to get the horse ready as quickly as possible. After some time he returned, and said, "Massa, de horse break de fence, and him gone, me seek him all about sir, but me can't find him." They then took their hats, and signified their

readiness to proceed ; but the officer, beginning to see that he had mistaken his men, offered to allow them to remain, on the condition of their appearing before a neighbouring magistrate the following morning at eleven o'clock. To this they thankfully consented, and wearied with their journey, they rested at Ocho Rios in peace.

On the next morning they went at the time appointed, and appeared before a Mr. Moncrieff, a magistrate ; their accusers being present. After looking at each other a few moments, Mr. Kerr stated, that they stood before him as prisoners, and desired to know what charges were to be brought against them. The officer here denied they were prisoners, and observed that they were at liberty to go. Mr. Kerr, then addressing the magistrate, replied, "*I am a prisoner ! We were arrested last night by that gentleman in his Majesty's name, and bound to appear before your worship at this hour, I demand, therefore, to know what charges he has to prefer against us.*" Taylor answered, that he heard there was to be an unlawful meeting at the chapel ; and as evidence, he produced a prayer-book and a small sunday-school spelling-book, which he had taken the preceding evening ; but as there was no charge against the missionaries they were liberated, very much to the satisfaction of the magistrate, who hardly knew what to do in the business.

On their liberation they immediately proceeded to St. Ann's Bay, to inform the Hon. Henry Cox, the Custos and major-general of the district, of what had happened. When they had related the whole matter respecting

themselves, he said they must be mistaken in the person of Lieut. Taylor, as the company to which he was attached had not been on guard the preceding night. But on being assured that he was the person guilty of the outrage, he became exceedingly indignant, and assured them that the whole should be duly investigated. They then intimated their wish that no further notice should be taken of the offender, but as Miss Jarvis had been arrested, and was still in custody, they begged his honour would order her to be released. This was accordingly done; but perceiving it to be impossible for them to remain in St. Ann's they returned to Kingston.

On the 26th of January, martial law being still in force, a public meeting was held at St. Ann's Bay, at which the well-known confederacy, known by the name of the "Colonial Church Union," was formed. As this unhallowed combination was productive of much mischief, an account of its formation and proceedings shall be given from the Jamaica Courant, that the reader may at once be made acquainted with its constitution and objects. It is as follows:—

"At a meeting held at St. Ann's Bay, on the 26th day of January, 1832,

"It was resolved,

"To call on every friend of the Colony to assist, by an annual subscription of twenty shillings, in the permanent establishment of a "COLONIAL CHURCH UNION," whose object shall be to resist, by all constitutional means, the encroachment of their enemies under every disguise; and through the agency of Quarterly Reports, published through

out the British Dominions, to offer to the falsehoods of the Anti-Slavery Society an antidote, in the form of arguments and facts, illustrative of the true state of our labouring classes, at the same time encouraging every measure for the advancement of their spiritual and temporal interests.

“ That subscription lists be opened, and forwarded to all places of public resort throughout the Island.

“ That, until a meeting of all the Island subscribers can be convened for the purpose of electing a President and officers of the Society, this meeting elects,

PRESIDENTS.

“ The Honourable Henry Cox and James Lawrence Hilton, Esquires.

SECRETARIES.

“ Thomas Raffington and Ralph Cocking, Esquires, and Dr. Edward Tucker.

ACTING COMMITTEE.

“ Hamilton Brown, James Walker, James Johnston, Gilbert Senior, Dr. Stennett, William M'Cook, John Higginbottom, J. W. Davis, Robert Robinson, Henry Smallwood, and S. W. Rose, Esquires.

TREASURER.

“ Benjamin Scott Moncrieffe, Esquire.”

“ At a General Meeting of the COLONIAL CHURCH UNION of St. Ann, held this 15th day of February, 1832, present, The Honourable Henry Cox and James Lawrence Hilton, Esquires, Presidents,

“ It was resolved,

“ 1st. That at an alarming crisis like the present, when the possession of our lives and properties depends upon our recovering the confidence of our people, which has been

estranged by the arts of those whose influence must be first removed; and when it is the prevailing fashion of the day, to carry every measure against us by organized societies and political unions, it becomes us to arm ourselves with the same weapons against our assailants; and to unite in our own defence for our mutual support, and for that of our existing institutions, by the removal of those who seek their overthrow.

“ 2nd. That in furtherance of the objects of the meeting held here on the 26th of January last, our secretaries be now instructed to communicate immediately with all the Parochial Unions yet established, for the purpose of collecting within the General Colonial Church Union the whole strength of the Island, and obtaining therefrom a general petition to the Legislature for the expulsion of all sectarian missionaries.

“ 3rd. That the members of the Union, collectively and individually, shall strive to regain the confidence of their slaves, estranged through the machinations of the sectarians, by a more rigid discipline in the first instance, and in the next, by granting every indulgence consistent with their state and merited by their conduct.

“ 4th. That the members of the Union do bind themselves to use every possible exertion to prevent the dissemination of any doctrines at variance with those of the English and Scotch churches.

“ 5th. That in furtherance of the ulterior objects of the Union, and to exhibit in their true light the arts which have been used to bring ruin and devastation on Jamaica, the first Report of the *Colonial Church Union* shall contain an authentic account of the late rebellion, and that the committee do cause such narrative to be compiled from official sources of information.

“ 6th. That it is expected from every member of the Union, that he will lend his influence and support, on all occasions, to those patriots who, in behalf of the paramount laws of society, have hazarded their personal responsibility for our preservation from the murderous machinations of our enemies.

“ 7th. That every member of the Parochial Union doth hereby bind himself to obey, promptly and explicitly, all constitutional orders of the General Union.

“ 8th. That any member of the Colonial Church Union who shall act unworthily of the obligation herein imposed and accepted, shall be expelled therefrom.

“ 9th. That a meeting of the acting committee of St. Ann be held at St. Ann’s Bay, to commence on the third Saturday in March, or, during this eventful crisis, as much oftener as they may think proper to call on the presidents to convene them.”

(Signed) JAMES L. HILTON, } PRESIDENTS.”
HENRY COX, }

The attentive reader will easily see what were the motives and objects of this conspiracy. The design of the “ Colonial Church Union,” was not to support the Churches of England and Scotland on the Island. Of the latter, there was indeed only one congregation at the time, which was in a state so pitiful, as would not have displeased even Claverhouse, could he have risen from the dead to see it. *The object was to drive religion out of the country ; to rivet the chains of slavery ; and to bring back those days in which the clergy were few in number and immoral in their lives.* to accomplish their ends, they engage “ To support,” on all occasions, “ those

patriots who, in behalf of the paramount laws of society, hazard their personal responsibility.” *That is, they bind themselves to pollute the jury box by perjury, and to use all other means in their power to preserve their agents from the effects of justice, in the prosecution of their lawless schemes.* Does the reader think these observations uncharitable? If so, let him peruse the leading article of the *Courant* of March the 3rd, and then let him say whether there be anything overcharged; recollecting, that the *Courant* was the principal organ of the conspiracy. Of the Colonial Church Union, the editor says,—

“ This auspicious measure flourishes ; eleven parishes are already organized within its combining influence, and an active principle of life and energy is already infused into our hitherto lifeless body, which will soon circulate through every vein of the Colony, and give an impulse to its struggles which nothing can withstand—nothing at least which can be brought against us in the present dislocated state of affairs in the Parent Isle—for in such a cruel situation are we placed, that all we have to guard against is the unnatural conduct of our own misguided parent. In less than four months have we to dread the infuriated exertions of our enemies. The whole battery of the Colonial Office will then be opened against us, aided by the small arms—the rifles of the assassin brigands—the sectarians, who are so expert at picking off our best men, the victims of treachery and revenge. For this we must be prepared by our *Unions*, as well as against the harrassing prosecutions which will be instituted, but which need not be feared, as long as the *Jury Box* is within its range. The plan is understood to be this, and it is time it should be widely

promulgated:—The Parochial Unions are to become sub-committees to one *Grand Island Union*, which will be directed by an acting committee, of two or more members of each of the parochial committees headed by a president, to be elected by the *general voice of the members*, with secretaries and Island treasurer, to meet where, and as often as occasion may require. The first general meeting will shortly be convened, when such provisions, rules, and *orders* will be promulgated, as will anticipate the dreaded blow, and organize the country against the future interference of those who have rendered such strong measures necessary. Above all things care must be taken to exclude, and narrowly to watch the conduct of *suspected persons, many of whom are now among us*, whom it is now necessary to hold up to shame and reproach. The existence of the Union as an effective body requires their exposure, and its members will bear harmless the man who dares to bring such forward. They will also protect all those who for the *general good* are active in expelling from our veins the poison of sectarianism, and preventing its further infusion; and one of its first efforts should be to destroy those organs of sedition and blasphemy which have assisted in disseminating that poison; to support or countenance, in short, *no press or person who shall advocate the hateful cause of the Dissenters*; and to petition the Assembly to place *our own clergy* under *our own people*, and their representatives in *Vestry*, even to the expulsion of those missionaries and curates, who are still here, paid by and under the influence of our enemies, and who have been detected in their vile vocation. The old church government and discipline was better than the present—*let then the old laws revive*. The Episcopal government has here been an experiment and has failed; for under it sectarianism has increased tenfold, and flourished even

amongst the ministers of our own church. In fact, sectarianism came in with that system—*let them expire together*. We have lately seen the danger of trusting our people to the instruction of those who are not under our control: let us, therefore, henceforward hold the purse and power in our own hands; and let every member of the Colonial Church Union think, that as in battle, the field may be won by his own arm, so in the present.”

It will now be seen that the “Colonial Church Union” was nothing less than what has been described, a conspiracy to drive religion out of the Island. It is much to the honour of the Established Clergy that so few of them had anything to do with it. None, indeed, but the contriver of the whole plot, and another unhappy man, who afterwards fell in a duel, were even so much as suspected; but it is with mingled feelings of grief and shame, that it must be related that a Scottish minister, though standing precisely upon the same legal footing with the missionaries, was universally believed to be one of its supporters.

Martial-law having terminated on the 5th of February the District-meeting assembled during the following week. It was a sorrowful time, but amidst the various trials which depressed the missionaries, there were two things which afforded abundant cause of praise and thanksgiving to Almighty God: the first was, that God had so far been gracious to them, as to preserve them from falling victims to the rage of persecuting men; and, secondly, that, notwithstanding the strong temptations to which their people were exposed, *not one of them was*

found guilty of being connected with the late insurrection. Such was their confidence, that they never expected many of them would be led astray; but as there were between *two and three thousand* of their members in a state of slavery, in the disturbed districts, it was not to be supposed they would have all been able to resist the fiery trial. But great was their rejoicing over their people, when they found that their fidelity had been far beyond what the most sanguine could have ever anticipated; and while they gave the praise to Him to whom it was justly due, it led them to admire more than ever that system of holy discipline which they had received from the venerable founder of Methodism, and which had proved so efficient in a season of no ordinary trial and difficulty.

But not only did the Wesleyan negroes abstain from the practices of the insurgents, but many of them hazarded their lives, rather than unite with them; and stood up in defence of their master's property, while the smallest ray of hope remained of their being able to save it. The names of a few of those heroic negroes cannot be unacceptable to the reader.

The first to be mentioned is John Spence, a leader, who belonged to Axe and Adze Pen.

“On the 2nd of January,” says a missionary, writing from Montego Bay, “he and some of his fellow-slaves, saw two men go to their master's house, but before they reached it, a large party of three or four hundred came up, by way of Golden Grove, which caused them to stop; the party then burnt the premises and departed. In the night he (Spence)

called up all his members on the property, and went to prayer. All of them prayed, or, as he said, ‘every one had his own prayers.’ They continued from about midnight until day-break, and, he says, ‘They never had such prayers before; God made them all very happy.’ Just as they had separated, the same party who burnt the property came and fetched him out of his house, and told him he must go with them. This he refused to do, and said he was determined to die rather than join them in their wickedness. When they found he was not to be moved either by their threats or promises, the commander of the party ordered them to blow his brains out. Accordingly they divided, and Spence was placed alone. Two men then stepped out, one with a musket and the other with a rifle piece, and at the command of their captain they attempted to fire. The pieces did not, however, go off, although they snapped them twice. Spence says, ‘he thought then he was no longer in the world, *but he felt quite happy since the prayers in the night.*’ When they found their pieces did not go off they were a little daunted, and delivered their prisoner over to the care of another they brought with them. Both effected their escape together; and Spence subsequently went to his master on guard at a neighbouring estate. One of his members, who refused to join the insurgents, they tied up and beat very cruelly, but it was of no avail, he persisted in his refusal to have anything to do with them.”

James Muir was also a leader, and a slave belonging to Bogue estate, about three miles from Montego Bay. He was a man of great intelligence and deep piety. On the breaking out of the insurrection, the white people were heard exclaiming, “Where is Muir?” But he was not to be found, and it was of course con-

cluded, that he was a ring-leader among the insurgents. It was afterwards found, however, that he had assembled the members of his class, who united in defending the premises against a large party who attacked them, and when longer defence was impossible (for the balls were beginning to fly around them), they contrived to take away whatever of the moveables they could, which were securely concealed, till the insurgents were driven from that neighbourhood, and then the whole was delivered up to their master at Montego Bay.

James Malcolm, of Knockalva, a negro of no common piety and usefulness. When hundreds around him were proceeding with the work of destruction, he and his people turned out to work on the 28th of December, which was even before the time usually required at the Christmas holidays. He continued to work until the overseer himself sent an order to desist. He also stood up in defence of the property, and when overpowered by numbers, saved what he could, and delivered it up to the owner. Such was the confidence reposed in him by the general, that he was for some time employed in the woods as a pioneer, or rather as a guide, through the fastnesses of the country. But this excellent man, notwithstanding his faithful services, was cruelly persecuted, of which an account shall be given in the sequel.

Besides those, there were many others who distinguished themselves by their fidelity. Richard Lewis, a leader belonging to the Ramble Society, was severely beaten by the insurgents while defending his master's property; and his son Edward was seized, bound, and

carried away by them, but succeeded in making his escape. James Wilmot, a leader, belonging to Content estate, was first flogged, and then dragged about by the insurgents until they had almost killed him ; and James Leach, a leader at Burnt Ground, was made prisoner and carried away, but he also escaped from their hands.

It might be thought that the extraordinary fidelity of the Wesleyan negroes would have undeceived the Colonists, and opened their eyes to the inestimable advantages of religious instruction ; but, alas, it was far otherwise. Recent events had wound them up to the highest pitch of fury, and being goaded to desperation by the Courant, and by the machinations of the Colonial Church Union, they proceeded to outrages of which they never would otherwise have been guilty, but which must for ever constitute a sad stain upon the history of Jamaica.

The outrages alluded to commenced in Montego Bay, with the demolition of the Baptist Chapel. This took place on the 7th of February, in open day, and although it was well known that none of the Wesleyans had been implicated in the insurrection, yet it was designed to demolish the Wesleyan chapel that same night. Providentially, however, this was prevented by the return to the town of the coloured companies of the militia in course of the afternoon, many of the most respectable of whom were members of the Methodist Society. There was now strength sufficient to defend it, and the Custos was induced to station a military guard upon the premises, by which means they were preserved from

destruction. After the guard was removed, some half-burned coals were found in the chapel, showing, that an attempt had been secretly made to set it on fire, but through the providence of God, the diabolical design did not take effect.

But in the neighbouring town of Falmouth the infatuated whites had none who could effectually oppose them, and both the Wesleyan and Baptist chapels were razed to the ground, the former, on the 8th of February. This was what could not have been accomplished in any other town on the Island of equal magnitude, had the free black and coloured population been present. In other towns, that body had been raised in intelligence and respectability, principally through the labours of the missionaries, and they felt their obligations to them ; but though there were a very few gentlemen of colour of high respectability in Falmouth, yet the mass had not been brought under religious training, and they were not superior to the slaves in intelligence, though they might easily be distinguished from them by their insolence and pride. In St. Ann's the mob was of course triumphant, and the militia had scarcely returned, when they began their career of violence. The chapels at St. Ann's Bay and Oracabessa were pulled down, and that at Ocho Rios and Ebenezer were burnt. It is melancholy to think, that in some instances the planters were assisted in the work of destruction by the captains and crews of ships, then in several of the harbours, and thus the hands of British seamen were employed in destroying the sanctuaries of God. Great was the disappointment

of the St. Ann's incendiaries when they found the missionaries had escaped; but as they were gone, they suspended three figures at the Bay, designed to represent Messrs. Whitehouse and Wood, and Mr. Nicholls, the Baptist missionary. Those were removed by order of the Custos, but they were afterwards set up by Henry Israel (a Jew already mentioned), on his own premises, together with another figure placed over them, blasphemously representing the devil as saying, "These are my beloved, in whom I am well pleased."

No Colonial Church Union could indeed be formed in Kingston. Not only were the coloured and black population resolute against it, but it was feared that many of the whites would scorn to be identified with such a detestable conspiracy. But as it would have been thought by the opposite party somewhat disreputable to appear less zealous than their brethren on the north-side of the Island, the editor of the *Courant* urged the demolition of the chapels, though not by fire, lest other property might be involved in the same destruction. Information was secretly conveyed, that for this purpose he and his friends had received the names of a number of persons, who volunteered to stand by each other until they were pulled to the ground. The first attack was to have been made upon the new chapel, which was situated in a solitary place, in one of the outskirts of the city; but, notwithstanding all their precautions, their designs were made known (though at first only to a very few), and even the night was ascertained on which the assault was to take place. On that

evening the missionaries were astonished to observe the strange aspect of the congregation at the old chapel, for as yet not one of them knew anything of the plot. It was the evening for the usual week-night service. The chapel was quite full, and a very large proportion were males, most of whom were dressed with great coats, and many carried bludgeons. When service was ended, a gentleman informed them of the whole matter, and stated that it was intended to place a strong guard on the new chapel, and that a sufficient number would also be appointed to protect the others, as well as the two belonging to the Baptists. About nine o'clock the city itself had an unusual aspect. In general the streets were perfectly quiet by that hour, but on the evening in question, numbers were seen in arms, the great majority of whom were taking the direction of the devoted chapel. A little before midnight two of the missionaries went to the spot, but just before they reached it they were challenged by sentinels to give their names. On doing so, they went up and found a vast number assembled within the railing, and amongst those, two were employed as sentinels, one of whom was on horseback. They expressed a hope that there would be no disturbance, and at any rate the full conviction that they would preserve the peace, so as to give no occasion to any one to misrepresent the object for which they were assembled. They were answered by the gentleman who had been appointed to the command for the night, to the effect, that they would assuredly preserve the peace, if possible ; but he intimated, they had in the meanwhile

made the preservation of the chapel their own concern and respectfully, yet firmly, desired them to retire. A demonstration so public could not be unknown to the intended assailants, but the chapels being so guarded night after night, they did not dare to make their appearance.

In this dangerous posture of affairs, his honour the mayor (a gentleman of great respectability), convened a meeting of the inhabitants, and a "civic guard" was formed, sufficient for the protection of the city. This was quickly accomplished, and he issued a proclamation, which as it corroborates what has been said relative to the instigation of the *Courant*, and otherwise contains information as to the state of the city, it shall be inserted entire. It is as follows :—

"Whereas the attention of the magistrates of this city has been attracted by a paragraph in this day's *Courant*, of a most wanton and highly dangerous character, having a tendency to influence the minds of the population of this city, and to induce outrage and violence on the sectarian places of worship. Notwithstanding I feel the most entire confidence in the morality and good disposition of all classes of the inhabitants, which would render futile any attempt to bring so dire a disgrace upon Kingston; yet I feel it proper to, and hereby do enjoin and call upon all magistrates, all members of the civic guard, and all special and other constables, to be on the alert, and to use their most active endeavours to protect the Baptist, Wesleyan, or other sectarian buildings from outrage or spoliation.

"And whereas many persons have, with the intent of protecting those buildings, assembled in the streets armed during

the night, without any authority from his excellency the governor or myself to do so, I hereby caution all such persons from continuing such illegal conduct. The lawful authorities are ample for the preservation of the peace; and any self-constituted body, by whatever pretence formed, will be put down, and punished with the utmost severity.

(Signed) "T. L. YATES, Mayor and Custos.

"Kingston, Feb. 18th, 1832."

Notwithstanding the proclamation of the mayor and the appointment of the "civic guard," the security of the new chapel was still doubtful, and several gentlemen resolved to defend it as before. On the night of the 18th, two of the guard rode up to the chapel, and finding them so employed ordered them to disperse. To this they objected, urging that they were on private property, and in fact obeying the proclamation, for they had been sworn in as special constables, and were required to be "on the alert." At their request the captain of the guard was sent for, who was on the ground in a few minutes, accompanied by several others. To him they gave an explanation of their conduct, stating, that they owed their standing in society to the men who occupied such chapels; that the editor of the *Courant*, was endeavouring to effect their destruction, but it would be to no purpose, for they and many others were resolved to defend them at all hazards. Here the editor himself came forward in a state of great alarm, pulled off his hat, and *protested his innocence!* It was all in vain, his paper was referred to, and he was not allowed to proceed. It is likely he would have met with much rougher

treatment, had it not been for the gentlemanly conduct of the captain. On his making himself responsible for the premises, they were left with the guard for the night, the editor himself being compelled to stand as one of the sentinels. Several of the others, however, remained in the vestry, which was so occupied for some time afterwards. In this way the designs of their enemies were entirely frustrated: a happy circumstance, for had it been otherwise, Jamaica would probably have become a field of blood.

Having given an account of the state of affairs in Kingston, we return to the north-side of the Island, to record the sufferings of some of the Wesleyan negroes, who although innocent of the charge of rebellion, and "rebellious conspiracy," and having no hand whatsoever in the recent insurrection, were nevertheless grievously persecuted by their brutal enemies, and some of them even to death. The cases of cruel and unmerited suffering were very numerous, of which a few only can be noticed here; but when the oppressed and the oppressor shall both stand at the judgment seat of Christ, the hardships those poor negroes endured for His sake, shall neither pass unnoticed nor unrewarded. The first to be mentioned is

Robert Lamont. He was a person of colour, and one of the head slaves belonging to Georgia estate, in Trelawney. He was a man of a very amiable disposition, and from his respectable appearance, it was evident that his lot had been far happier than the immense majority of his neighbours. His deep piety, his prudence, and

uncommon intelligence, attracted the notice of Mr. Box, who appointed him to the charge of a class in Falmouth Society, in 1831, which office he filled with great credit to himself and usefulness to others. On the 28th of December, the negroes on Georgia estate had gone to their provision grounds, and as this was one of the days universally allowed at the Christmas season, they meant no offence, and they apprehended no danger ; yet though all this was unknown to Lamont, he with some others of the head-men were seized by a party of militia, bound, and carried to Falmouth, where, in the commencement of martial law, he was tried by a “drum-head” court martial, *sentenced to receive 500 lashes, and to be confined to the workhouse, to work in chains for the term of his natural life.* It is stated, that his humane overseer, who was then on militia duty, exerted himself to prevent the infliction of the cruel and unjust punishment. But it was to no purpose ; the unfortunate slave was known to be a man of piety and prayer—crimes quite heinous enough for punishment during that “reign of terror.” Though he never recovered from the barbarous flagellation, yet he was taken to the workhouse at Port Maria. There, in addition to his bodily suffering, he saw himself separated for ever from his excellent wife and his family ; and, amongst the most wretched outcasts of the species, degraded to the condition of a chained and unpitied workhouse slave. Such an accumulation of suffering was more than he could sustain, and in the space of a year nature sunk under the intolerable burden, and his spirit went to heaven to join “the noble army of martyrs.”

John Baillie, was also a man of colour, and a natural son of the late J. Baillie, Esq., proprietor of Roehampton Estate, and attorney for Georgia, to which latter property he belonged. He was likewise a slave of great trust and respectability, and it appears that his father, who quitted the Island a short time before the insurrection, had left the sum of £50 towards his manumission, which, with what he had saved himself, was sufficient for the purpose; but it seems his successor objected, alleging that if he should be allowed to purchase his freedom, the head carpenter would wish to do the same, and the estate could not afford to be without such services as theirs. Baillie was a near relative of Robert Lamont, was apprehended at the same time, tried for the same alleged offence, and sentenced to a similar punishment. While he was under the torturing infliction of the lash the unfortunate sufferer fainted, and the surgeon in attendance stated he could bear his punishment no longer. He was then taken down, and afterwards sent to Rodney Hall workhouse, a place so terrible, that the very name has made some of the stoutest negroes tremble. He was confined to hard labour in that dismal abode of misery until June, 1833, and during that period, it appears he suffered much from the drivers and others, who were stimulated to treat him with aggravated cruelty. The manner of his release shall be related in the sequel.

John Davidson, of Knockalva Pen, situated on the borders of St. James and Hanover. He had been a member of the Society at the Ramble, which was formed by Mr. Murray in 1831, and consisted at first principally

of slaves who were connected with that of Montego Bay. During the insurrection he manifested a spirit of great fidelity, for which he was seized by a party of the insurgents, but after being kept for some time he effected his escape. But it appears they again caught hold of him, and it was said they compelled him to prepare some of their victuals, which was afterwards disproved. This coming to the ears of his overseer (to whom, says a correspondent from the place, he had become an object of hatred by his praying), he sent him to be tried under the capital charge of rebellion ; and he was sentenced to be executed on the property, in the presence of his wife and former companions. Before his death, he requested to see the witness on whose testimony he was condemned, in order to assure him of his hearty forgiveness, although he said he had sworn falsely. He was a driver on the property, but he refused to see him. At the time of his execution, he desired permission to speak, which being granted, he only requested his wife (who was compelled to be present), to forgive the driver, and to do him any good offices in her power ; adding, " I die innocent of the crime laid to my charge, but the Lord Jesus will receive my spirit." In this noble frame of mind the martyred negro escaped to that quiet region

" Where tyrants vex not, and the weary rest."

James Malcolm. The name of this excellent negro has been already mentioned, as having been remarkable both for his fidelity and usefulness in the time of the insurrection. He was a man of a very cheerful and

affectionate spirit, and such were his attractive manners, that that man must have possessed a heart of adamant who could treat him with cruelty. He was also a person of uncommon piety, and by his unwearied application he became able both to read the scriptures fluently and also to write with tolerable clearness; and none of the religious negroes exceeded him in prudent zeal, and extensive usefulness. He had been once one of the head-men on the property, but on account of his religion he was degraded to the condition of an ordinary field labourer, but he endured all his sufferings without a murmur. About the commencement of the disturbances he was severely examined, and great disappointment was manifested, when it was made evident that he was guiltless; but after he was employed in the public service, as has been already related, certain false charges were fabricated against him, and he was sent to be tried at Lucea. "If," says the correspondent already referred to, "he had been allowed to call witnesses in his defence, his innocence would have been established;" but it appears this was denied, and he was sentenced "to be hanged by the neck till dead." Through the efforts of Mr. Murray, however, arrest of judgment was obtained, and Lord Belmore commuted the sentence to "*confinement in the workhouse to be wrought in chains for life.*" Of James Malcolm's innocence there cannot be a moment's doubt; and though the last penalty of law was not inflicted, yet his sufferings were inexpressibly severe. The result of the whole will be related in its proper place.

Henry Williams. The name of this excellent man is

known to the reader, as having been already the subject of the most barbarous punishment for no crime but that of being a Wesleyan Methodist. As the insurrection did not extend to St. Ann's, it was impossible to find any pretence for implicating him in the guilt of that affair. He was therefore charged with "administering unlawful oaths," and again sentenced to receive a public flogging. For some time the missionaries thought that he must have been reading the form of the covenant, as used among the Wesleyans, with a few of his members; but when they had the opportunity of inquiring into it, they found they had been mistaken, and that the charge was without even the shadow of a foundation. The cruel and unmerited sufferings of this worthy negro excited the sympathies of a number of benevolent persons at home, and through the efforts of several ladies in Birmingham and its vicinity, his manumission was purchased, and Henry Williams, not long after his cruel torture, became a free man.

Another negro in St. Ann's was cruelly flogged, not because he was guilty of rebellion, but because, to use the language of one of the magistrates, he did not "give correct evidence;" *i. e.* the negro could not be induced to say, that his minister, Mr. Whitehouse, had told them they were to be free. Besides those, many others had trials of the most painful description, and many had to endure hardships which time cannot unfold. But "their witness is in heaven, their record is on high."

After the District-meeting, the brethren once more went to their respective appointments, only such was the

violence of hostile feeling in St. Ann's, that it would have been certain death for any missionary to have attempted to go there. Mr. Bleby, who had been about a year on the Island, was appointed to Falmouth, and he lost no time in repairing to his new and arduous station. On his arrival he was cordially welcomed by his afflicted people, but a mournful scene was presented to his view. Persecuting rage was triumphant; the Society scattered as sheep having no shepherd; and the house of God razed to the foundations. But no man was considered better qualified to occupy that difficult post than Mr. Bleby, and his prudence and respectability were admitted by all. The Colonial Church Union had however obtained firm footing in Falmouth, and he was one of the obnoxious persons that diabolical organization sought to expel from the Island; and under its influence an outrage was perpetrated, of so atrocious and brutal a character as to be quite unprecedented in the history of the Mission.

On the evening of the 7th of April, between seven and eight o'clock, as Mr. and Mrs. Bleby were sitting at tea in their own house, in company with one or two female friends, they were surprised by a band of ruffians rushing into the room, evidently with the most hostile intentions. On demanding their business, one of them replied, they had come to take tea with him: to which he answered, "if that be what you want, you are welcome." At that moment three or four of them violently seized him, and placing him against the wall, besmeared him with tar, which they had brought for that purpose. When

this was done, one of them seized a lighted candle, and attempted to set fire to his clothes ; which when Mrs. Bleby observed, she flew instantly to the spot, and dashed the candle from the hand of the murderous ruffian. They then threw her violently on the floor, and called out to throw her infant, only about five months old, out of the window. At that instant a few of his friends, hearing the noise, got into the premises, on which the assassins became alarmed, and hastened to the door, after having struck one of their own number with a bludgeon so as to endanger his life, whom in the confusion and bustle of the moment they mistook for another person. It gives great pleasure to say, that on hearing of this brutal outrage Mr. Miller, a magistrate of the first respectability, hastened to the spot, with a party of the twenty-second regiment, then garrisoned in the town ; and Mr. Bleby was taken to the barracks, where he found a safe asylum for the night. Mrs. B., who was forced to flee without her bonnet and with only one shoe, was kindly received and sheltered by Mrs. Jackson, the lady of the clerk of the peace.

The gang of ruffians guilty of this outrage were well known ; and it was resolved, that at least an attempt should be made to obtain justice for a persecuted and injured missionary. On the following day Mr. Bleby waited with that view on some of the magistrates, but Mr. Miller having left the town *none of them would take his depositions* ; but on the return of that gentleman, he discharged his duty, and arrangements were made to prosecute the rioters at the Cornwall

Assizes. But though no magistrate could be found, on Mr. Bleby's first application, who would take his depositions, there was no want of promptitude in dealing with the men who ran to his rescue. They were speedily arrested, and bound to answer at the Quarter Sessions ; but when one of them requested that his depositions should be taken against one of the men who assaulted him, this was sternly refused.

On the termination of the disturbances, his excellency the governor called the Legislature to meet and proceed to business. In his opening address, which was principally on the recent insurrection, he recommended the members to ascertain its causes, and legislate accordingly.

“ It will be your province,” said his excellency, “ to endeavour to trace this unprovoked rebellion to its true origin. That a very general impression has been made upon the minds of the slave population that his Majesty had granted their freedom, is undeniably proved by the dying declaration of many unfortunate individuals, who have suffered under the sentence of the law. I shall lay before you such information as may be useful in this inquiry, in the pursuit of which I am confident you will proceed with that entire absence of all prejudice, which the spirit of impartiality and justice require, and by which truth alone can be ascertained. I have received his Majesty's command to submit to you a proposition for the future regulation and government of slaves, calculated to simplify and consolidate into one legislative enactment all the laws passed on this interesting subject ; and as his Majesty's government attach the greatest importance to the early

consideration of it, I shall lose no time in recommending it to your most serious attention."

On the following day a committee was appointed to ascertain the causes of the insurrection, and a petition was presented to expel the "sectarians" from the Island. This was opposed by Mr. Beaumont, who denied the power of the House to pass any such enactment as the petitioners requested. After a short debate, it was agreed, by a large majority, that the petition should be received, and it was ordered to lie on the table. It is remarkable, that within a few days after, the House were informed that two "sectarians," namely, the writer of this narrative and Mr. Barry, had given the usual public notice of their intention to proceed to England. A motion was then made, that none of them should be permitted to leave. Mr. Beaumont too hastily rose and ridiculed it, showing at the same time that there was no governor who would dare to sanction it. The members saw this, but when it was about to drop for want of a seconder, he got up and seconded it himself; it did not, however, pass. Thus the house was fast losing the respect even of some of its own members.

The Orders in Council were sent to the House by the governor without delay, on which there was a violent debate. Mr. Berry delivered a very inflammatory speech, and holding the documents in his hand, proposed that the Sovereign's message they contained should be thrown out of the House, taken to the square, *and burnt by the hands of the common hangman.* Suiting his

action to the word, he threw the whole over the bar. Mr. Stamp said, he differed from the honourable member as to the disposal of the documents, and proposed that no notice should be taken of them whatsoever. "Late events," said he, "have shown that we have in the militia a force most truly great, most truly formidable, and should the mother country interfere with us we have bayonets to resist all such interference." This was no unusual slang, and the reader in it can be at no loss to perceive one of the chief causes of the recent unhappy events. The House ultimately sent a message to the governor, stating, that any further amelioration of the slave code must emanate from themselves.

Another proposal of some importance was brought before the Assembly. Considering the unequivocal attachment to the Colonial cause of the Rev. J. Wordie, the Presbyterian minister of Kingston, it was proposed, in addition to the usual sum of £900 annually voted to the Kirk, to allow him a sum sufficient to proceed to the mother country, to convert the General Assembly of the Scottish Church, to set the minds of the British people right on Colonial matters: also to tax the different parishes for the support of a Presbyterian establishment in each. On this being regularly brought before the House, a long speech was delivered by Mr. Beaumont, from which, as there were several remarks bearing upon the Mission, the following brief extracts are subjoined. In opposing the motion for any additional expense, he said—

"We have been told that the Presbyterian church effected the freedom of Scotland, now we are told that the features of

her loveliness are the facilities she presents for perpetuating slavery in Jamaica! How then has she fallen! Is the free step of her youth thus exchanged for the decrepitude of prejudice, her armour of freedom for the manacle of the slave? *She has not fallen.* Not all the energies, nor eloquence, nor talents, nor sophistries of ten thousand preachers, will avail to persuade the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, that slavery is a blessing. Slavery has heard the award of destruction gone forth against her, and her partisan efforts cannot save her. The honourable member (Mr. Stamp) says, that he, as a member of the Established Church, supports the preachers of Presbyterianism because their doctrines are not at variance with his own. I, as a citizen of the world, defend the sectarian preachers, because they are my fellow-men. As it respects the charge against the Methodists and Baptists being concerned in the insurrection, I shall content myself with referring to facts. No man saw more of that horrid scene of destruction and misery to all classes than I did, and I can appeal to many members of this House to confirm the statement I am about to make—*not one Wesleyan Methodist, of any cast or complexion, was concerned in the insurrection!* The greater number were Baptists, but there were also numerous members of the Established Church, and some Presbyterians implicated.* When I say the greater number were Baptists, I wish to be thus understood, I do not believe there is one instance in which it will be possible to procure conviction against any one of the white preachers of that persuasion. The Baptists are a numerous sect, or rather I should say *sects*,

* About the year 1824 the Scottish Missionary Society first sent out their agents to Jamaica. There were four in the Island in 1831, principally on the north-side. They were nearly all from the Secession Church, laborious and successful Missionaries; and though denominated Presbyterians, must not be confounded with the Kirk in Kingston.

in the north-west parts of the Island. The black preachers of this persuasion certainly did inculcate political, instead of religious doctrines; but with reference to the white preachers, the worst they have done is no more than what many in the Established Church are accused of, and accused of on quite as good evidence—of addressing language to the slaves which was likely to be misunderstood and to inflame their minds. To perpetuate slavery you must not alone banish sectarian ministers, you must stop the progress of civilization; you must not barely fetter, you must destroy the press; you must cease to express your opinions in this House, at your public meetings, at your private tables; you must be yourselves the worst of slaves in order to perpetuate slavery in others.”

The speaker then drew a picture of the desolate state of the Island, and of the miseries resulting from the late insurrection, and thus concluded—

“It is to avert those frightful ills, which render property and life itself a curse, that I call upon you to consider of some more effectual means of safety than the attempt, the futile attempt, to establish a new hierarchy of Presbyterian priests WITHOUT CONGREGATIONS in this Island.”

Mr. Beaumont’s amendment was adopted, and nothing more was granted to the Kirk than it had been accustomed to receive.

The testimony of Mr. Beaumont is valuable. He was by far the most intelligent member of the House, and none can suspect him of a leaning to Methodism. He was never in *heart* a lover of slavery, any more than of Christianity; but he had spent some time in the mother country, a little before the insurrection broke out, and

what he had seen convinced him that slavery could not be much longer perpetuated. At the time of his greatest avowed hostility to Missions, there is no reason to suppose that he would have carried hostility to the missionaries themselves, to the extent that was clamoured for by the infuriated Unionists. His was the first speech delivered in the House upon emancipation. The senators were confounded. It put an end to his Colonial popularity ; but, indeed, he began to be suspected shortly after his arrival from Great Britain.

The Report of the " Committee on the Rebellion " was ordered to be published on the 26th of April, and they declared its causes to be :—

" The unconstitutional interference of his Majesty's ministers with the Colonial Legislature, in regard to the passing of laws for their government : the discussions in Parliament on the subject of slavery, coupled with the false and wicked reports of the Anti-Slavery Society : the mischievous abuse existing in the systems adopted by the Baptists, Wesleyan Methodists, and Moravians, by their recognising gradations of rank among the slaves who had become converts to their doctrines, under the denomination of rulers, elders, leaders and helpers : the public discussions of the free inhabitants of the Island consequent upon the continued suggestions made by the King's ministers : and, lastly, the preaching and teaching of the sects called Baptist, Wesleyan Methodist, and Moravians, (but more especially the sect called Baptist,) which had the effect of producing in the minds of the slaves, a belief that they could not serve doth a temporal and spiritual master, thereby occasioning them to resist the lawful authority of their temporal, under the delusion of rendering themselves more acceptable to a spiritual, master."

On the publication of the report the representatives of the various religious bodies alluded to, protested against such portions of it, as charged either their systems or their teaching with the melancholy disasters which had desolated the fairest portions of the Island. The meeting of Wesleyans convened for that purpose, consisted of ministers, stewards and leaders; and was held in Kingston, on the 10th of May. On that occasion they indignantly repelled the false charges and insinuations which had been brought against them in the report; and the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to and published:—

“ 1st. That we have read the report of the committee appointed by the honourable House of Assembly to inquire into the causes of the late rebellion in this Island, and perceive, with great surprise and indignation, the unworthy attempt which is made to implicate us and our people as the promoters of the same.

“ 2nd. That as neither the Wesleyan missionaries, nor the leaders in their Societies were directly, or indirectly, concerned in instigating, or in any way aiding in the late rebellion, we consider the report, as far as relates to the ‘Wesleyan Methodists,’ utterly false and unfounded, nearly all the leaders being respectable free persons, most of whom are owners of slaves.

“ 3rd. That as the report aforesaid is calculated to bring our system into disrepute, by asserting that it affords facilities for exciting rebellion among the slaves, we feel ourselves called upon to maintain that it is scriptural, and calculated to promote peace and good order among all classes of his Majesty’s subjects, whether free or slaves; and that nothing

contrary to this can be proved against it: therefore the report is a gross calumny, not only upon ourselves and people in this Island, but also upon the body to which we belong.

“4th. That being conscious of our innocence, and the praise-worthy conduct of the members of our Societies in this Island, during the late disturbances, we consider it our imperative duty to PROTEST, in the most public and solemn manner, both here and in Great Britain, against the charges preferred against us in the report aforesaid; and also against the conduct of individuals, who could make such a wanton attack upon our characters, without allowing us an opportunity of self-vindication.

“5th. That the assertion in the report, that the ‘preaching and teaching’ of the ‘Wesleyan Methodists’ are calculated to mislead the minds of the slaves, on the subject of ‘lawful authority,’ is unworthy of serious consideration; their *ability* to expound and enforce the Holy Scriptures having been decided by a competent tribunal, and the falsehood of the charge can be proved, by an appeal to the thousands of their hearers throughout the Island.

“7th. That these resolutions be signed by all present, on behalf of our Societies in this Island, and that a copy of them, signed by the chairman and secretary of this meeting in behalf of the seventeen missionaries and four hundred and forty-seven leaders, be forwarded to his excellency the governor, the Earl of Belmore.

“8th. That these resolutions be published in three of the Island newspapers; that a copy be transmitted, with the least delay, to our committee in London, and by them be presented to our most gracious Sovereign, in any way which to them may appear the most acceptable.”

The language of the above resolutions is strong and severe, but no apology is required, either for their spirit or letter, in respect of severity. The House had debased itself far below the respect of any upright man. They adopted a report, containing calumnies which every member knew to be false. But this, too, hastened the downfall of the system, and assisted in preparing the way for a better state of things.

Meanwhile the afflicted and persecuted state of the St. Ann's Societies continued to engage the attention of the brethren, and to excite their tenderest sympathy; and, notwithstanding the perilous nature of the attempt, Messrs. Wood and Greenwood went over in the beginning of June, to see if they could find an open door for preaching the gospel. Not judging it safe to proceed by land, they took their passage in a sloop, and arrived at St. Ann's Bay on the 11th. They were affectionately welcomed by their suffering people, and particularly by Mrs. Boyle, a coloured lady, who received them into her house. But appearances of hostility were instantly manifested. Insulting and threatening placards were posted on the walls by the Unionists, and on Wednesday, the 13th, it was agreed to make an attack upon their persons, and to pull down the house in which they lodged. But the free black and coloured population were on the alert, and resolved to resist. The Unionists therefore deemed it prudent to defer their intended operations until after the muster of the militia, which would take place on the following Saturday.

Under these threatening circumstances, the mission-

aries resolved to acquaint his honour the Custos with their arrival and intentions. They addressed a letter to him, in which they stated that they had come to the parish in accordance with the wishes of no inconsiderable number of respectable free persons, who had worshipped in those places which had been pulled down by riotous mobs; and that such persons were resolved to defend their ministers from the outrageous attacks of their enemies. They also informed him that on Friday night or Saturday, their enemies had resolved to perpetrate acts of violence; and they concluded, by requiring at his hands, that protection to which all his Majesty's peaceable subjects are entitled to claim. On the same day his honour returned the following answer to their letter:—

Epping, June 14th, 1832.

“Gentlemen,

“I most deeply deplore the unfortunate violence that has been displayed in the destruction of the chapels in St. Ann's, and I am sorry to observe, that violent spirit still exists in almost the whole of the parishioners;* so much so, that I have not the means of protecting you. I, therefore, most strongly urge you to desist from holding meetings until that spirit has subsided; for at present it rages to that degree, that they seem reckless of any danger attending their outrageous and unlawful acts. I should not consider my own person safe, were I to attempt to interfere in your behalf.

“I am, gentlemen,

“Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) “HENRY COX.”

* His honour means white parishioners only.

The letter of the Custos will be sufficient to show the state of that then lawless district ; but there are several expressions in it which will appear remarkable from one of the presidents of the Colonial Church Union. The truth is, Mr. Cox was one of the best of the white Colonists. If he had been left to himself he would have been anything but a persecutor. He was an amiable, but a weak man ; he had no mental vigour to bear up against the influence of the majority ; he was a mere tool in their violent hands, and frightened into a position he yet mortally disliked. This timidity was the occasion of his being afterwards degraded from the magistracy, as shall be related. In the meantime the missionaries saw, that by their continuance in the parish bloodshed must be the result, and they left in a few days for Kingston.

While Messrs. Wood and Greenwood were in St. Ann's, Lord Belmore terminated his feeble and unfortunate administration ; and on the 12th of June, he took his departure for Great Britain. Rumours had been afloat some time before, that his lordship had received his note of recal from his Majesty's government ; a matter which sorely disconcerted the Unionists. The following account is transcribed from the Jamaica Watchman, and will be read with interest, or rather with disgust.

“ This nobleman,” says the editor, “ after having governed Jamaica for three years, a period much shorter than he himself, or those he ruled, anticipated, laid down the reins of government yesterday ; and sailed from Port Royal this morning in the Sparrowhawk for England, by way of New York.

“About seven yesterday morning the Countess, and a female attendant, in her carriage, and Miss Brookes in a gig, driven by Colonel Mc Leod, left the King's House for Port Henderson, where we suppose they waited the arrival of his excellency, who left Spanish Town at about half-past two, *accompanied by the Rev. GEORGE WILSON BRIDGES (who had been for some days previously domiciled at the King's House),* and some few others. On quitting the seat of government, and Port Royal Harbour, his lordship received the salutes and military honours usual on such occasions.”

The above requires no comment. The reader will see the cause of many of the misfortunes under Lord Belmore's administration. If men are known by their company, the unprotected state of the missionaries is easily accounted for. In private life, his lordship is said to have been an amiable man, but his nerveless arm was by far too weak for the reins of the Jamaica government. Justice, however, requires it to be stated that he came at a difficult time. Disorders had accumulated under the long but despicable administration of the Duke of Manchester, which the imbecility of Lord Belmore could neither grapple with nor remove. Be that as it may, it is certain his coronet acquired no lustre, but was rather dimmed and tarnished, by his residence in Jamaica. Good men were glad when he quitted the Island; his departure was regretted only by the worst.

The death of that honest man and upright judge, the Hon. Sir William A. Scarlett (brother to the late Lord Abinger) was severely felt as a great public loss. That

event occurred between two and three months before the insurrection ; and had his firm and impartial hand held the scales of justice during the troubles which followed, the Island would have been preserved from much evil. He had no acquaintance with the missionaries, but they admired his public conduct, which showed him to be one of the most upright men the Island ever produced. With many, his administration of justice was not popular, but that arose out of what redounded to his honour. The unenlightened classes of offenders were corrected with a lenient hand, but when a more privileged class might stand convicted at his bar, and especially of cruelty to slaves, whatever might be their complexion, the severest sentence of law was inflicted. Great anxiety was felt about his successor. At last, information was received in April, that his Majesty's government had appointed Sir Joshua Rowe, a gentleman from the English bar, to the high office, who arrived in May, and entered upon his official duties. Without intending the slightest reflection on any party, the appointment of a stranger at that crisis was not wise, as the state of affairs required such a consummate acquaintance with Colonial society as no stranger could possess. Indeed, while slavery lasted, it requires no great sagacity to perceive, that it was the worst possible policy to appoint a chief-justice from any other bar than that of the Island itself. Many specious appearances might for a time deceive a stranger, which could have no such effect on one acquainted with the habits of the country ; while, independently of his own sense of justice, he could not but know, that no

corrupt administration would be tolerated by the parent state. The reader will judge how far the correctness of these remarks is borne out by what follows; but this much is certain, that (at least from the commencement of the Mission) the official conduct of those gentlemen who were appointed from the bar of Jamaica, was such as would have been honourable to the judicial bench in the mother country itself.

It was intended to prosecute the chapel destroyers in St. Ann's and St. Mary's at the Supreme Court in June, before the new chief-justice. But as several events connected with that measure occurred some months before, it will be needful to go back some time, in order that the reader may have a correct view of the whole affair. As the perpetrators of those outrages were well known, there being no temptation to conceal their guilt, several affidavits were made out, and the missionaries, under the direction of their law agent, forwarded them to the acting attorney-general, Mr. Fitzherbert Batty. Weeks, however, passed away, and no notice was taken of the matter. At last, on the 19th of April, the Rev. Messrs. Kerr and Wood forwarded a memorial to the Earl of Belmore, informing him of the steps they had taken; that nothing had been done to apprehend the incendiaries; that they were prevented from entering upon their duties in those parishes; and respectfully soliciting the interference of his excellency. On the following day they received a note from the governor's secretary, intimating that their memorial had been received, and should be submitted to the attention

of Mr. Batty without delay. On the 21st another note was received from the secretary, together with the explanation of the attorney-general. In that explanation he stated, that there had been no delay on his part; that he had not "*seen the affidavits*;" that he did not know whether they had been lodged in the crown office by the memorialists or their agent; but, said he "I must observe, that if the memorialists were desirous of prosecuting, they should have entered into recognizances for that purpose before the magistrate who took their depositions, and also to have obtained warrants from him against the parties accused, and had them bound over to stand their trial, as the offence is bailable, being only a *misdemeanor by the laws of this Island*. This has not been done, and therefore they continue at large at present." He promised, however, that as soon as the grand jury should find the bills, he should move for bench warrants to arrest the parties.

To a mere English reader nothing can be more plausible than the explanation given above; but an impartial person, acquainted with the institutions of the country, can peruse it only with feelings of indignation and disgust. The attorney-generalship of England and that of Jamaica are in some important respects different offices though they have the same designation. In the latter country the office of that functionary is to be explained by the legal institutions of Scotland, and not of England. His position is analagous to that of the lord advocate, and not to that of the English attorney-general. He represents the crown as the *public prose-*

cutor ; and having received information of the offenders, it became *his* duty, not that of the missionaries, to see that they were properly secured and dealt with according to law ; and as to the crime of arson “being only a misdemeanor by the laws of Jamaica,” let him believe it who can. The records of the insurrection, tell a very different tale. The whole communication has very much the appearance of evasion, if not of an artful attempt to practise deception on a weak and inefficient governor.

The time for the sitting of the Supreme Court arrived, and indictments were prepared against John H. Sharpe, Thomas Taylor, David Dow, R. W. Johnson, George Gardiner, and M. Hyman, charging them with setting fire to the chapel at Ocho Rios, in the parish of St. Ann ; and against Edward Bettigar, H. Vandeburgh, and Donald M'Donald, for the destruction of that at Oracabessa, in St. Mary. The chief-justice, in addressing the jury, congratulated them on the lightness of the calendar ; but was sorry to observe that there were two cases of a serious nature which they would have to investigate.* As the crimes of arson, and the destruction of property, are considered serious in England, and as they were so considered in Jamaica during the time of the insurrection, the reader of course will already anticipate that the two indictments aforesaid were what was alluded to by his honour ; but not so, and the issue may now be foreseen.

* The cases were “*Rex v. Parker* for murder,” and “*Rex v. Smith* for a horrible outrage.” See *Royal Gazette* of Jamaica for June, 1832, and the *Jamaica Watchman* for June 13th.

THE GRAND JURY IGNORED BOTH THE BILLS!! It is a painful task to record such an event, but it shows the success which had attended the machinations of the Colonial Church Union, in the protection of their "patriots who had hazarded their personal responsibility." While hundreds of poor deluded negroes were sacrificed for the destruction of property, the whites, though guilty of the same crime, were not only allowed to pass with impunity, but also to glory in their wickedness. At the close of the sitting, the grand jury presented Sir Joshua with an address, congratulating him on his appointment to his high office; and intimating, that as a stranger, who had received his information respecting their habits and customs "through erroneous channels," his situation was difficult, but he might rely on the grand jury freely tendering all the assistance in their power, to further the ends of justice. His honour sincerely thanked them for their address. In reply, he observed, amongst other things, that though a stranger, he was "a stranger with a mind unbiassed with any prejudices." Thus much is certain, his mind was not unduly biassed by any prejudice in favour of the missionaries: not that they wanted any favour at his hands, but they did expect that a judge from the bar of England in his official character, would exercise his powers to preserve to them those rights, which the laws were designed to secure.

The Cornwall Assizes sat in Montego Bay the following month, and again his honour congratulated the grand jury on the lightness of the calendar, which only

contained a few cases of assault. At this court Mr. Bleby prosecuted the ruffians who had attacked him in his own house. But here, too, the Union was triumphant. Oppression reigned while justice was asleep. *The grand jury ignored the bill!*

A remarkable occurrence also took place at the Surrey assize-court, held in August, in the city of Kingston, which, as it is not wholly disconnected with the Mission, deserves to be related. It is the trial of Mr. Jordon, the editor of the Watchman, for libel. Mr. Jordon was a Wesleyan, and during the reign of terror fearlessly advocated the rights of missionaries of all denominations; while the Courant, and some other publications, were clamouring for their blood. During the period of martial law, he was marched with a detachment of the Kingston militia, to which he belonged, to a distant parish, where he continued until the insurrection was quelled. At that time some of the articles in the Courant indicated a vast superiority in point of education to that of the untutored individual who was its nominal editor; and of this description one of the worst appeared on the 21st of January. Others had been published, exhibiting quite as much of the ferocity of the savage, but for artful though deliberate falsehood, and a malignity truly fiend-like, this was perhaps equalled by none. Though not entirely free from the usual vulgarity of the Courant, its style was yet different, and its dark and sanguinary character appeared only more exciting as it was partially covered with a hypocritical respect for religion itself. The professed object was to draw a line of distinction between

the Scottish missionaries on the north-side of the Island, and the others, who of course were designated by the usual appellation of "sectarians." Of the former, two were located upon estates, which, like some others in the neighbourhood, had escaped the desolations of the insurrection; and this circumstance he ascribes to their fidelity, while the ruin and bloodshed were all charged upon the latter. "Wherever," says the writer, "the sectarians have set their foot there is a horrible scene of misery and desolation, and estates entombed in ashes.* Wherever they have gained admission, just like SATAN in Eden, they have produced disobedience to the master, impatience of all rule, a general spirit of turbulence, and crimes the most horrible. "These," said he, "are the *blessings* which have resulted to this Island from *those fanatics of superior light and wisdom*. A horrible harvest of ruin and misery is what Jamaica has reaped from these tools of the Anti-slavery Society." They were further denounced as "*diabolical innovators*;" as the "*infernal demons of Aldermanbury*;" as "*missionary traitors*;" and were accused of all the evils which were then distressing the Island. The atrocity of such an article is at once apparent. It appeared when the rage of the Colonists, was fast approaching to its highest pitch, when some of the missionaries were driven from their stations, and cruel men were seeking their life. It is due to the

* It is almost unnecessary to say, that the "sectarians" so called, were not permitted to visit estates on the north-side of the Island. One or two in St. James had been once open to their labours, but for years they had been excluded.

Scottish missionaries to say, that the Courant afterwards treated them as it treated their brethren.

The gentleman who conducted the Watchman while Mr. Jordon was absent on military duty was a member of the church of England ; but as a friend of missionaries, his indignation exceeded all bounds when he saw the aforesaid production. In the following week, he charged its authorship on the Rev. J. Wordie, the Presbyterian minister of Kingston, and alleged that the charge was sustained by his own handwriting. His rebuke was terrible, and in some parts tremendously eloquent ; but the spirit cannot be vindicated. Though the article was most atrocious, yet the writer, whoever he might be, was an object of pity, and it became a Christian editor to exemplify the meekness and forbearance of Christ. The result was what might be expected ; a prosecution was threatened, and Mr. Jordon was desired to give up the name of the party responsible for the paper in his absence. This he nobly refused to do, and took the whole responsibility on himself.

On the 7th of August the case was brought before the Supreme Court, *not as an action for damages*, but by indictment. Mr. Panton, the advocate-general, appeared for the crown, a zealous Colonist, and who a few months before exerted himself before the same court to inculcate Mr. Jordon in charge of *treason*, as he had spoken against slavery and urged its abolition. He entered upon his work with much ardour, read the article on which the charge of libel was grounded, and observed that the Rev. prosecutor had adopted the present course

in order to the vindication of his character. Several witnesses were called to prove that Mr. Jordon was the responsible editor, and that the gentlemen complaining was the party attacked in the offensive article. The counsel for the defendant was Mr. Watkis, who managed the defence with great ability. He strove to adduce evidence to show that the prosecutor was the author of the article which had provoked the dreadful rebuke ; but all this was objected to by the Bench. It was not, however, lost upon the jury, who after some time returned with the verdict of "guilty of publishing ONLY." This produced great joy amongst the numerous spectators, and Mr. Watkis contended that it was tantamount to an acquittal ; but the Bench overruled this also. Mr. Watkis then moved for a new trial, alleging that, amongst other reasons, he would adduce evidence to prove that the article which had originated the whole was written by the prosecutor. A day was fixed for hearing his arguments for a new trial, but it was decided against him ; and on the verdict of "guilty of publishing *only*," Mr. Jordon was sentenced to "*imprisonment for six months, and a fine of one hundred pounds !*" Thus whether there was law for the protection of missionaries or not, there was at least *punishment* for their friends. But the object of this prosecution was defeated after all. It was no civil action, in which the truth or falsehood of the alleged libel could be taken into account. Even if the prosecutor had proved the guilt of the defendant, he did not demonstrate his own innocence as to his being the contributor to the

infamous Courant. And, indeed, his object was defeated every way. Mr. Jordon was sent to gaol, but his townsmen, immediately elected him an alderman of the city. When the case reached home it was there examined, and he was released before the term of his imprisonment expired, and the fine of one hundred pounds was never exacted.

After the return of Messrs. Wood and Greenwood from St. Ann's, the latter remained about three weeks in Kingston, after which he went over to Port Maria, and preached on the 8th of July. At the evening service, one Lee, a Jew, came in along with several others as vicious as himself, and by their rude and disorderly behaviour seriously annoyed and disturbed the congregation. On the following day this person made affidavit before a magistrate that Mr. Greenwood was preaching without license. He was immediately arrested and taken before L. R. Stephens, G. Vidal, and H. Cox, Jun., Esquires, and was committed to take his trial at the ensuing Quarter Sessions. Having objected to enter into recognizances he was sent to gaol, and on the 17th was brought before the court and liberated. This was not owing to the justice of the Bench, but to the clerk of the peace, who honorably declared that there was no law to support the indictment.

It was, therefore, the intention of Mr. Greenwood to proceed with his work, which, from what had passed, it was hoped he might be allowed to do without molestation. But having preached on Sunday, the 29th, he was again arrested on the following day, taken before a

bench of magistrates, and sentenced to pay a fine of ten pounds for the offence of preaching without license. As he had violated no law, he refused to pay the fine, and was again committed to gaol. As this was a case similar to that of Mr. Orton in 1828, application was made to Sir Joshua Rowe to release him by Habeas Corpus, as had been done by his predecessor. To the great surprise of all *Sir Joshua refused the application*, and the minister of God was allowed to remain in gaol,

In order that the missionaries might see what steps to take, it was deemed prudent to submit the credentials of Mr. Greenwood to Mr. Dowall O'Reilley, the new attorney-general, and to obtain his advice. It appears to have been his opinion that no case could be made out against the magistrates, as there was no evidence that he had subscribed certain articles of the Church of England required by the Toleration Act, as it stood before the 19th Geo. III. Of course the attorney-general was guided in this opinion by the decision of the Supreme Court in 1828; and supposing that decision to be correct, his conclusion was undoubtedly right. But the missionaries never objected to that law; they had applied to the courts of Quarter Sessions under its provisions, and surely it was the business of the magistrates to see that they had complied with its terms, before they were allowed to qualify. But in truth it was a new discovery, for the said articles were thought of by none, so that it was not for want of that form they were persecuted by a cruel and unprincipled magistracy.

About the time of Mr. Greenwood's release, an instance

of magisterial oppression occurred in Manchioneal. It seems the white inhabitants made application for a party of regular troops to be stationed in that district, where they arrived on Sunday, the 12th of August. The officer commanding, having been a married man, no suitable house had been provided for him, and it was hinted (not by the officer) that the house rented by Mr. Rowden, the resident missionary, was quite eligible. On the following day Mr. M'William, a neighbouring magistrate, waited on Mr Rowden, and required him to give up his house, or he should not be allowed to preach ; to which he very properly objected. On the same day, about two o'clock, he returned, along with Mr. Speed, another magistrate, and demanded his authority for preaching. He then produced his testimonials, which they declared to be insufficient, as, said they, "there is a Colonial law requiring dissenting ministers to take out license in every parish." He replied, that he was not aware of any such law, but expressed his willingness to take the oaths whenever he might be required ; intimating at the same time his intention of proceeding with his ministerial duties as usual. On the following Thursday a warrant was made out for his arrest, and a special constable was sworn to execute it, *upon condition of his attempting to preach*. The constable, however, mistook his commission, and went immediately to arrest him ; but having gone to Morant Bay he was not to be found. As he knew nothing of the matter he soon returned, and was again waited on by the two magistrates, who once more urged him to give up his house ; promising to

make up any difference in the amount of rent. To this he still objected, and they withdrew, after threatening him with the consequences of his preaching, should he make the attempt. In a little time the constable made his appearance, armed with his warrant, which had been prepared "cut and dry," as has been related. He was taken before M'William; when lo! the business was found to be premature, as the warrant was to be executed only in case of his attempting to preach. On Saturday, the 18th, another warrant was prepared beforehand, to be ready for him in case of his preaching; and Thursday, the 23rd, being the regular evening for public service, he officiated as usual. He was immediately arrested by virtue of the aforesaid warrant, brought before M'William, and by him committed to the common gaol at Morant Bay. The cell in which he was confined being very damp, he caught a severe cold, which was succeeded by a violent attack of fever, and his removal became absolutely necessary. He then entered into recognizances to appear at the Quarter Sessions, and was discharged. On recovering a little he removed to Kingston for a change of air, but his fever again returned, and at the time of Quarter Sessions he obtained a medical certificate, stating his inability to attend, which was admitted to be satisfactory. At the Supreme Court, held in June, 1833, application was made for a criminal information against those magistrates; but on their counsel admitting that their conduct had been most illegal and reprehensible, the case was pressed no further. The missionary had no malice to gratify;

and the court (somewhat strangely) thought it best for the respective parties to pay their own costs.

Another instance of intolerance occurred in Montego Bay. When the disturbances in that neighbourhood had subsided, Mr. Murray intimated his intention of reopening the chapel; and as it was admitted that his conduct had been unimpeachable, and that none of the Wesleyan negroes had been implicated in the insurrection, it might have been expected that no impediment would be thrown in his way. On his intention being known, a placard was posted on the chapel, purporting to give him notice, that should he preach it would be at the hazard of his life, and that the chapel also would be pulled to the ground. Notwithstanding this (after making such arrangements as prudence suggested), he opened the chapel, and entered upon his public duties. About that time a general meeting of the Colonial Church Union of the different parishes was held in Falmouth, at which they issued "a solemn declaration," binding themselves to their engagements, and also that they would not give employment to any "sectarian," or to such as encouraged them in any way whatsoever. At that meeting, the Unionists of St. James were severely taken to task for permitting the preaching of Mr. Murray in Montego Bay; and on the 31st of July, an order was sent from the Quarter Sessions, then being held, demanding his immediate attendance. He found no fewer than about twenty magistrates, all apparently waiting for him, who informed him that they had received information that he was preaching in an unlicensed

house, and was also unlicensed himself. He replied, that the old building had been duly registered in that court, that as the new one was on the same site, it had not been thought necessary to present it; and that he himself had qualified, not only in England, but also on the Island. They, however, decided he was not legally entitled to preach, on which he presented the chapel for registration, and offered again to take the oaths, which the law gave them no power to refuse; but they sternly rejected his application. Two of their number indeed, Mr. Guthrie and another gentleman, advocated his cause, but as all the rest gave their voice against him, it was to no purpose. The person who presided on the occasion was Mr. John Coates, a violent antagonist; but thus much must in justice be said for the whites in Montego Bay, that his was a character anything but highly respected.

The situation of Mr. Murray was now extremely trying; both parties were strong on Montego Bay, and he was assured, that should he open the chapel as matters then stood, riot and bloodshed would be the consequence. After consultation with his friends, he prudently consented to yield, until his case should be presented for the consideration of the governor.

For some time the attention of the reader has been directed to a dark and gloomy period of our history. Law and order wantonly outraged with impunity; a cruel faction triumphant; and the servants of God suffering bonds and imprisonment for his sake; while hundreds of their afflicted people were enduring such fiery trials, as

cannot be fully known until the great day of judgment. Some severities still remain to be recorded, but a brighter day was nigh at hand. These severities, together with succeeding triumphs, shall be related in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XII.

The Earl of Mulgrave appointed Governor of Jamaica—Friendly reply of his Excellency to the Address of the Missionaries—Meeting of the Legislature—His Excellency's dignified answer to the Address of the Assembly—Determined energy of the Governor—Royal Proclamation for dissolving the Colonial Church Union—Magistrates in St. Ann's dismissed from their office—John Baillie and James Malcolm are liberated by order of the Governor—Rev. Mr. Barr arrested at Manchioneal—Incident at Morant Bay—Imprisonment of the Rev. Mr. Murray—Decision of the Supreme Court on the Acts of Toleration—Daring outrage at the Court-house of St. Ann's—Colonial Church Union entirely broken up—A Bill for the Abolition of Slavery passes the Imperial Parliament—Extraordinary changes in Jamaica—Missionaries return to Falmouth and St. Ann's and worship in peace—A Bill for the Emancipation of the Slaves passes the Colonial Legislature—Death of the Rev. Richard Watson—Proceedings of the Missionary Committee—The Earl of Mulgrave leaves the Island—He is succeeded by the Marquis of Sligo—First of August, 1834.

ON the 29th of July, 1832, the Right Honourable the Earl of Mulgrave (now Marquis of Normanby) arrived, as the newly appointed governor of the Island. From the time of the Earl of Belmore's departure, the administration had been in the hands of the president of the council, the Honourable George Cuthbert, a well-meaning man, but possessing no energy. The missionaries hailed the arrival of the governor, and on the 9th of August they presented a congratulatory address which was favourably received. The insertion of the address would occupy too much of our space, but the reply of his excellency cannot be withheld, which was as follows:—

“ Gentlemen,

“ I thank you most sincerely for the expression of your congratulations upon my assumption of the government of this Island. The assurances of your sincere and inviolable attachment to the person and government of his Majesty, have given me the highest gratification.

“ I am duly sensible of the complicated difficulties by which the administration of public affairs in this colony is at present surrounded; but I trust to the prevalence of those feelings which you have now expressed, and which so well become you as ministers of the gospel, to the diffusion of a general wish for the preservation of tranquillity, and the removal of unhappy differences; knowing that it is by such means, my arduous task can be best facilitated.

“ It is a matter of peculiar satisfaction to me to hear from you, that during the late disturbances, every class of the members of your Society were distinguished by a devoted attachment to the government of his Majesty.

“ It will be my duty, as a uniform supporter of the cause of religious liberty, to extend to you that protection in the enjoyment of your rights and privileges which our constitution has granted, and which, whilst acting upon the principles put forward in your address, I see no reason to suppose you will ever forfeit.”

The manner in which his excellency received their address, as well as his answer to it, inspired the missionaries with hope. Both they and their people had borne their trials with the most extraordinary patience. In the discharge of their duties they feared no danger, while, on the other hand, by their exemplary prudence, they shewed themselves to be as far from unbecoming teme-

rity as from cowardice. But at the period of Lord Mulgrave's arrival, dark clouds were fast gathering around the distracted colony. The Colonial Church Union had extended its ramifications throughout most of the parishes; but the free black and coloured population were beginning to organize against them, and the country was threatened with civil war.* It was some time before the principles which marked his excellency's administration were fully developed; but the missionaries had the fullest confidence that a governor had at last arrived every way adequate to the arduous duties of his station, and not less disposed to fulfil them. He visited many parts of the Island, inquired into its institutions, and inspected the hut of the slave, as well as the mansion of the planter. It was long since Jamaica had witnessed such a governor. He appeared every where, and in a style becoming a representative of Majesty. His early caution was wise and politic; but an opportunity was soon presented, for shewing the decision of his character, and declaring the principles of his government.

The Legislature were called to meet on the 30th of October. The opening address of his excellency was long, minute and conciliatory, but it was equally dignified and faithful. Amongst other topics, he stated his

* It deserves to be noticed, that after a large and influential meeting of gentlemen of that class had been held in Montego Bay, who condemned the Colonial Church Union, a handful of persons met and passed a few contrary resolutions. The chief of the names must be mentioned, as it would be a grievous affair should they be forgotten. They were J. Boyd and R. E. Breare; Moncrieffe also, the St. Ann's treasurer of the Union, was a person of colour. Alas, it appears that these worthies were all educated in the mother country.

regret, that in some parts of the country he had observed “a turbulent and lawless spirit occasionally betraying itself in open acts of outrage, and consequent symptoms of alienation between different classes of the free population ;” expressing, at the same time, his determination to suppress such outbreakings, “wherever they might occur, and by whomsoever they might be fomented.” He gently hinted at the appointment of committees, in both Houses of Parliament, who had been employed in investigating the state of the Colonies ; that of the Lords having been obtained at the instance of the West India body itself. He informed the Assembly that a bill had passed the Imperial Parliament for the relief of the Island, suffering as it was from recent misfortunes. Also, that the Orders in Council of November, 1831, would not be pressed ; but he strongly recommended them to the consideration and adoption of such measures of amelioration, as in their wisdom they might think fit.

His excellency’s speech was favourably received by the Council, but the long answer of the Assembly was expressive of much dissatisfaction and deeply wounded pride. They were stung by his reference to the Unionists, and endeavoured to apologize for their outrages, or rather to justify them, by referring to the disasters of the late insurrection. But what appeared to be the most galling, was his reference to the Parliamentary Committees, before which they knew several missionaries had given evidence. They disclaimed any participation in their appointment ; boasted of the liberality of their

legislation ; and denied the competency of Parliament to make any effectual inquiry into their institutions. They said, they never recognized the resolutions of 1823, and protested against the House of Commons interfering with their internal legislation. They urged, that they were not represented in that House, and that they had no hope of an impartial and dispassionate result from any committee it might appoint. The bill passed by Parliament produced no grateful response ; they simply replied, that they would take it into their consideration.

It is probable, that under many former administrations, all this might have passed without any animadversion, but it was not so in this instance. His excellency's rejoinder formed a perfect contrast with the few formal sentences usually employed on such occasions. He confessed himself disappointed with many sentiments in their long and desultory address, as well as in the spirit with which it was pervaded. His speech, he observed, "broached no theory, and required no sacrifice : it announced only a boon, and a concession for the present and for the future, patient examination at home, and a determination to report faithfully from hence." He left it to themselves to settle how far it was fitting to disclaim a connection with the West India body at home ; yet they ought to have recollected, that their own accredited agent united in the request for one of the Parliamentary committees ; and that they had just vacated their chair, by sending their speaker, and another of their body, to embark for En-

gland, so as to be in time for the next meeting of the Imperial Legislature. Nothing could have induced him to originate the irritating question of the right of Parliament to legislate for the whole empire ; but though he should ever maintain the most inviolable respect for their privileges, yet he could not listen to their declaration, “ without asserting, in the most unequivocal terms, *the transcendent power of the Imperial Legislature, regulated only by its own discretion, and limited only by such restrictions as itself may have imposed.*” He affectionately advised them to judge others, as they would wish to be judged themselves ; and assured them that it was “ *such groundless accusations, which alienated the public mind in Europe from the cause of the Colonists ; and,*” said he, “ *if you continue thus to speak for yourselves, I much fear it will be vain for any one to speak for you.*”

It is impossible for any true friend to Jamaica to read the manly reply of Lord Mulgrave, without feelings of bitter sorrow, mingled with inexpressible indignation. Amongst former governors, who fattened on the bounty of the Assembly, how was it that not one manifested towards them the same generous and faithful friendship ? They had many opportunities for announcing such doctrines, why then were they so long withheld ? Had they discharged their duty with equal fidelity, how much evil would have been prevented ! The Assembly would have been preserved from that deep disgrace, which must for ever attach to the memory of many of its members : the history of the Island might have been free from many foul blots, which must now remain to disfigure

it; and the fair fields of Jamaica might have been unstained by the blood of its inhabitants. Never had such a lecture been delivered before; it burst like a thunder-clap on the ears of the astounded senators:—it reverberated through every part of the country:—the Courant teemed with abuse:—the Unionists fretted with rage! But it was all in vain. From that moment his excellency sprung into the car of government; and though the unruly steeds had long been unaccustomed to the reins, yet he impelled them onward until they reached the point prescribed by the British Parliament, and required by the general voice of the British nation.

But another volley still more formidable was about to be discharged at the wretched Unionists. A proclamation was received in January from the Sovereign himself, denouncing their confederacy, and requiring it to be instantly broken up. All persons on the Island were commanded to abstain from any such Society; all judges and magistrates were required “*to give full effect to the laws for the toleration of religious worship, and to bring to justice all such persons as might be found violating them.*” It is possible, that in the hands of some former governors, the royal proclamation might have proved a very harmless instrument, but in the hands of Lord Mulgrave it became an engine of extraordinary power; and so skilfully did he use it, as to break up the Union into fragments, and then scatter them to the winds of heaven. Copies of the proclamation were forwarded to the Custodes of parishes, along with which his excellency issued a circular, in which he declares his de-

termination to enforce it in the most vigorous manner ;— that all persons who should violate his Majesty's injunctions should be reported to himself ; that should they hold offices under the crown, civil or military, they should be instantly deprived of them, “ that all others concerned in similar proceedings may perceive, that neither actual violence nor a repetition of illegal threats, will be allowed to pass unpunished.”

When these documents appeared, the hearts of his Majesty's loyal and peaceable subjects were filled with gladness ; but the rage and disappointment of their adversaries were extreme. Threats were held out against the governor, and one miscreant went so far as to assail both him and the countess of Mulgrave with abusive language, as they were walking toward the King's House in Spanish Town. The infatuated Unionists of St. Ann had the unparelled audacity to call a meeting of their body by advertisement, “ *to take place on the 10th of February, to consider his Majesty's late proclamation.*” This was a step too far, and the offending magistrates were driven from their offices : nor was this all, he repaired in person to the rebellious parish, and knowing the loyalty of the colored population, he went to a muster of the militia, and at the head of the regiment called up the colonel (Hamilton Brown) and dismissed him from his Majesty's service.

Nor was his excellency less to be admired for the exercise of mercy than of justice. Many of the negroes confined in the workhouses experienced his clemency. Amongst others the case of poor Baillie, who after his

severe flagellation had been sentenced to hard labour in Rodney Hall, was brought under his consideration, and he granted his Majesty's pardon and ordered his release. Some time afterwards he investigated the case of James Malcolm. It has been stated, that that excellent man had received sentence of death, but that Lord Belmore commuted it to confinement and hard labour in the workhouse at Lucea, and to be wrought in chains during the term of his natural life. But the malice of his enemies was disappointed. Lord Mulgrave ascertained the history of the whole affair ; the command of mercy was authoritatively issued ; the chain was snapt asunder ; and James Malcolm soon became a free man.

The above-mentioned events did not all transpire at the same time, nor could order be at once restored. The Colonial Church Union had indeed received its death wound, but during its last convulsive struggles, there were several instances of oppression which remain to be narrated.

On Wednesday, the 27th of March, 1833, Mr. Barr, who was stationed in Manchioneal, was apprehended by a constable, taken before Messrs. Mc William and Speed, and charged with preaching without license, on Sunday the 25th. The constable at the same time arrested two respectable ladies of colour, Mrs. Lyon and Mrs. Edwin Drummond, and brought them before the magistrates, to give evidence ; but respect for such functionaries was fast declining ; those ladies despised their threats, *and they positively refused either to be sworn, or to give one word of evidence.* Mr. Barr stated that he had already

qualified, and was willing to do so again; but they affirmed there was a recent statute against him, and he was sentenced to pay a fine of *twenty pounds*. To this he decidedly objected, and by order of the magistrates, a levy was made on the mission furniture, which was nearly all seized, and sold for the sum of nineteen pounds eleven shillings and threepence. A representation of this case was made to the governor, and Speed and Mc William were instantly deprived of their commissions.

It has been remarked, that though Manchioneal belongs to St. Thomas in the East, yet the white inhabitants differed widely in their character and habits from those in the other districts of that parish. But an incident occurred at Morant Bay for which it is difficult to account; considering the respectful treatment the missionaries had long received from the gentlemen in that neighbourhood. On the third of April, Mr. Barr was advised by two respectable magistrates to apply at the Quarter Sessions to take the usual oaths. This advice was no doubt kindly meant, and as there was no reason to fear the issue, he promptly complied with it. There were six justices on the Bench, and after long consultation, Thomas Mc Cornock, Esq., the presiding magistrate, stated “ *That it was decided by a majority not to grant any license at present.*” This case is inexplicable. It is undoubted that that gentleman had no wish, as an individual, to prevent Mr. Barr from preaching: he had long been favourable to the Wesleyan missionaries, and had been in the habit of frequent attendance on their ministry: indeed, as Mr. Barr continued

to preach without further interruption, it does not appear to have been the wish of the majority. It is probable that the practical uncertainty of the law so perplexed them, as that they scarcely knew how to act. The governor had issued his Majesty's proclamation, and had shewed himself the firm friend of religious liberty. On the other hand, the chief-justice, though he had been nearly a year on the Island had never decided the question of law; he had refused to release Mr. Greenwood from gaol, though he had the example of his predecessor for that course; and was thought to be quite as unfavourable as many of the Colonists themselves. In these circumstances, it is more than probable that the object of the magistrates was rather to evade the matter, until they might learn what the law required them to do.

The Society at Montego Bay had been for some time deprived of the public means of grace; but after his Majesty's proclamation, together with the governor's circular, Mr. Murray again opened the chapel, and entered upon his work. In consequence of this, two constables came to his house on the 24th of March, bearing a warrant to bring him at once to the court-house. He was taken to a private room in which twelve justices were assembled, charged with preaching without license, and required to give security not to preach again, or to be committed to prison. As he had both an English and a Jamaica "license," he desired to know by what law they threatened to commit him to prison; but he was told that he was not to ask questions as they had determined not to permit any conversation. He

was again asked if he were ready to give security not to preach: to which he replied, "*he could give no such security.*" His commitment was then made out, and along with two Baptist missionaries, was taken through the streets, guarded by five constables, like a common felon. Such was the treatment of a man whose congregation at the time of the insurrection had been characterized by extraordinary fidelity, and whose own conduct, his very enemies were forced to acknowledge to have been most exemplary. Justice requires it to be particularly noted, that against the iniquitous decision Lord Seaford and John Manderson Esq., loudly protested, but it was in vain; they were over-ruled by the majority, and the servants of God were sent to prison. Mr. Murray lost no time in presenting his case to the governor, and by order of the chief-justice he was released on bail, after having been incarcerated about a week. Mr. Murray was the last of the Wesleyan missionaries in Jamaica who suffered bonds and imprisonment for preaching the gospel.

At the Surrey Assize Court, which was held in Kingston, the chief-justice, in addressing the grand jury with reference to the intended trial of Mr. Dendy, a Baptist missionary, gave his opinion, that the old toleration laws were in force in Jamaica; but as this was no formal decision of the court, it went for but little, and matters were in the same state as before. It was on this account that an application on the part of Mr. Walters, at the Falmouth Quarter Sessions was unsuccessful; the Hon.

William Miller, the Custos, (whose conduct was not marked by intolerance) desired him to let his application lie over, until after the Grand Court, at which the matter would be set at rest.

The question was accordingly decided on the 22nd of June, and the acts of William and Mary, together with the 10th of Anne, declared to be the law of the Island. From this decision, however, Mr. Justice Bernard dissented, as Mr. Justice King had done before at the Surrey Assizes. The author is not acquainted with the reasons assigned by those gentlemen for dissenting from the chief-justice. But they were both solicitors by profession, and were therefore likely to be as well acquainted with the laws of Jamaica as Sir Joshua Rowe. But whatever may have been their views, we still persist that the decision of the Grand Court was erroneous. It was impossible those acts could have been the law, unless they had been "esteemed, introduced, and accepted or received as the laws of the Island" before 1728. No attempt was made to produce evidence that they ever had been, therefore, with due deference, it is still maintained, there was no *written* law on the subject.

Though by the aforesaid decision the missionaries were not required to apply in each parish for licenses, yet it was far from being acceptable to the respectable portion of the community. On the other hand, as it recognized the existence of the conventicle act, and otherwise allowed scope for some annoyance, it was hailed with delight by the Unionists, with whom Sir Joshua

Rowe became a greater favourite than ever.* On his passing through St. Ann's Bay, on the 28th of June, they presented him with an address, expressive of their admiration of his conduct in the recent decision at the Supreme Court ; which address purported to be from the inhabitants of St. Ann, and was signed by Hamilton Brown, an ex-magistrate and the degraded ex-colonel. So highly were they delighted, that it was even proposed to take out his horses, that they themselves might draw his carriage through the town. This, however, was not done ; “ *but he was saluted with several pieces of cannon, and with deafening cheers ;* ” which, says the Falmouth Courier, “ must have been highly gratifying to him.” Although, in his reply to the address, he acknowledged that he should have preferred that such an expression of thanks had not been conveyed to him, for doing what was only his duty, “ yet he could not but feel gratified that confidence was felt in him while presiding over the administration of justice in the Island.” If Sir Johsua were really gratified by *this* mark of “ confidence,” he must be a happy man ; so thankful for what others would esteem as but “ small mercies.” The Church Unionists crowned him with laurels ! Long may he live to wear them ! His wreath certainly possesses one rare excellence, namely, that should it never fade until another pluck it from his brow, it bids fair to flourish for ever. The next paragraph will enable the reader to estimate the value of such a token of confidence and respect.

* The Unionists were mistaken in the law, they understood it to be far more restrictive than it really was.

The principal magistrates of St. Ann's who belonged to the "Union," having been deprived of their commissions, Mr. Greenwood appeared at the Quarter Sessions on the 19th of July, for the purpose of taking the oaths, &c., in order to commence preaching in that parish. The Honourable Samuel Moulton Barrett was appointed custos in the room of Mr. Cox, who had been dismissed by the governor. Mr. Barrett had been formerly a member of the House of Commons: he was a gentleman of great intelligence and liberality, and also a true friend to the religious instruction of the slaves. The intentions of Mr. Greenwood were generally known, and many of the ex-magistrates and other Unionists attended, armed with clubs. On his entering the court-house, they cried out, "*We want no Methodist parsons here!*" Rose exclaimed, "*I protected one of those wretches before, but I will not protect this one!*" Hamilton Brown vociferated, "*We have a firebrand amongst us! Turn him out forthwith, forthwith!*" It was in vain that the Custos referred to the law; they shouted, "*Our determination is above law: we set the law at defiance!!*" In the midst of the tumult, they repeatedly attempted to get Mr. Greenwood into their hands, but this was prevented by the Custos placing him behind the bench, which was set up at a little distance from the back wall. The confusion still increased, and his honour, finding he could no longer protect him, pointed to a door close to where he was standing, telling him to flee for his life. This he did, and in the space of a few minutes more he himself had to follow his example. This violent outrage was,

however, over-ruled for good, and it proved to be nearly the last struggle of an expiring faction. The governor immediately stationed a party of regular troops on the Bay. It was seen by all, that law was no longer to be trampled upon. The Colonial Church Union was completely annihilated ; its most zealous supporters sunk into a miserable obscurity ; and the cause of righteousness and peace became triumphant.*

The gross and insulting outrage at St. Ann's Bay could not be passed over, and measures were at once adopted at the King's House to bring the ringleaders to justice. As Hamilton Brown was one of the members of the Assembly for the parish, the party felt exceedingly mortified. On the 28th of the same month, a requisition (signed by about forty persons), was presented to the Custos, desiring him to call a meeting of the parishioners, to consider the "present alarming situation in which the Island is placed ; as well as the insult offered to the parish, in the attempt lately made to deprive one of its representatives of his personal liberty." The Custos addressed his reply to Mr. J. L. Hilton, the principal name amongst those of the requisitionists, but who, as one of the presidents of the Union, had been degraded from his civil and military honours by the command of the governor. The reply was firm and dignified. He refused to call any such meeting, as it would only endanger the public peace and be productive of no good

* The riot in the court-house of St. Ann's will be sufficient to shew, that the respect manifested towards the chief justice by the Unionists was no evidence of respect for the law.

whatsoever. It was no use now to resist: the military were at hand, and the misguided men, had only quietly to submit, in the best manner they could, to the contemptible state of insignificance into which they had fallen.

The rioters at St. Ann's were prosecuted at the Supreme Court, which sat in Spanish Town the following October. The attorney-general entered upon the matter with great zeal, but as he could not but know what would be the result of placing a bill of indictment against them into the hands of the grand jury, he resolved to prosecute by *ex-officio* information. On both sides the counsel displayed uncommon ability, but the defendants were not able to produce any evidence to shake the testimony of the witnesses for the crown. Their counsel, therefore, in addressing the jury, made but little use of their evidence, but they eloquently declaimed against *ex-officio* informations, representing them as engines of oppression, and calling upon them by their verdict to protect the liberty of the subject. The chief-justice summed up the evidence, and charged the jury with impartiality; but the eloquence of the defendant's counsel prevailed: the jury retired and returned with a verdict of "Not Guilty." By that verdict, the traversers left the bar unscathed indeed by legal punishment, but they retired amidst the hootings and execrations of an indignant populace. But though they gained the verdict, the object of the prosecution was not entirely lost: they had had a narrow escape; the times were fast changing; and the "loyal and independent

parish of St. Ann's" was beginning to be generally regarded as a reproach to the Island. They very wisely, therefore, put up with their degradation, and we hear of them no more.

The persecuting magistrates at Montego Bay, appear to have observed the signs of the times rather earlier than their more ignorant brethren in St. Ann's. It has been already related that Mr. Murray was held on bail to appear at the Quarter Sessions in that town to answer to the charge of preaching without license. On the day for holding the Court, no magistrate made his appearance excepting John Manderson, Esquire, who had been throughout all the disturbances the firm friend to the missionaries, and a determined foe to persecution. On the following day he was associated with Messrs. Plummer and Watt, and after a short conversation relative to some cases connected with the Baptist Mission, the indictment against Mr. Murray was brought before the Court by the clerk of the peace. The Court, with little hesitation, ordered a *nolle prosequi* to be entered upon it, and thus the prosecution was dropped. At the same time he presented his credentials as a Wesleyan minister, and desired to qualify according to the recent interpretation of the toleration acts. Mr. Watt only appears to have opposed him, but his opposition was overruled. Mr. Murray was allowed to qualify, and from that time the Wesleyan ministers and their congregations have worshipped God in peace.

It will not be necessary to detail at any length, the well-known events which had for some time been pass-

ing in the mother country, in relation to the West India Colonies. There, the cause of freedom was continually gaining ground, as the agitations on the question of slavery proceeded. The violent persecutions in Jamaica contributed much to forward that cause: by them, the indignation of the British people was wound up to the highest pitch, and they demanded that Colonial slavery should hear its doom. The evidence before the Parliamentary Committees was new to many of the members, and some noble lords, who were Colonial proprietors, honourably declared, that they would sooner lose all their West India property than support such a system. The two members of the Jamaica Assembly, who had been sent over at the expense of the Island, to represent their interests and to claim what they called their rights, had only to proclaim their own defeat, and to tell their constituents what a bitter foe they had in the British minister. The Colonial party appeared to be infatuated: even at home they clung to the accusations against the missionaries, which, without the smallest difficulty, were proved to be utterly false. They also employed certain lecturers in their service, who knew nothing about the Colonies, whose statements were easily met; and thus they themselves contributed to ruin their own cause. The generality of their witnesses before the committees made no great figure, and their evidence rather strengthened than weakened the hands of their antagonists. Bad as matters were at home with them they were still worse abroad; their violence demolished their credit; in a word, it was such that, as the Earl of Mul-

grave had forewarned them, "it was vain for any one to speak for them." Thus the friends of slavery were, under the providence of God, so over-ruled in their designs, as to be pressed into the cause of freedom. It is true they never can share in the honours of a Clarkson, a Wilberforce, or a Buxton; but even such men as Bridges and Bruce contributed to the advancement of their cause; and the infamous Courant also contributed its quota, as well as the Anti-slavery reporter. It was decreed by the British Senate, and sanctioned by the British Monarch, that on the first of August, 1834, slavery should cease throughout the whole Empire; and the toleration laws of England from that time declared to be law in the Colonies.

In returning to Jamaica we seem to enter upon a different region. For several years, especially since 1824, it had been to the Mission "a land of storms;" but we now begin to enter upon a period of tranquillity and peace. From the commencement of the late troubles, until nearly the close of the year 1833, the internal history of the Mission presents us with but few prominent incidents. The greatest prosperity was in Spanish Town, where the Societies were favoured with the public ordinances without interruption, and enjoyed more quiet than in Kingston itself. On most of the other stations, even where the chapels were standing and open, the slaves were so frequently kept from attending, that no increase of members could have been expected. At last the prospects began to brighten; Mr. Walters was permitted to enter upon his labours in Falmouth about the beginning of July;

and though the chapel lay in ruins, so great was his success, that in the space of two months forty persons were admitted on trial. He was also allowed to worship in peace, and so marked was the change, that he says, "I feel confident, that notwithstanding former occurrences, that if protection, or even redress, should be required by me, I should have it. Our prospects are exhilarating, the cloud is dispersing, the scattered victims of persecution begin again to be collected, and the church will, we trust, once more flourish to the glory of that God who has thus brought us through the water and through the fire." But though the people were brought together who resided in the town, some time elapsed before they were collected from the estates in the country.

On the 19th of September, Messrs. Crooks and Greenwood went from Kingston to visit the scattered Societies in the parishes of St. Mary and St. Ann, and found the state of affairs much more settled. In Port Maria and Oracabessa they were happy to find their people in a state of comparative prosperity. On Saturday, the 21st, they went to St. Ann's, and though they met a number of Unionists on their way, yet none dared to molest them. Mr. Greenwood preached the following day, in a house which had been registered in the bishop's office, to large congregations, after which they renewed the tickets to many of the members. In the afternoon they preached under some cocoa-nut trees at Ocho Rios, close by the ruins of the chapel which was burned after the insurrection. Thus the clouds were fast passing away, and

they hailed the approach of a brighter day than had ever yet dawned on Jamaica; only on the St. Ann's and Falmouth circuits they sighed over the ruins of those edifices which had once been the sanctuaries of their God.

The Colonial Legislature was called to meet on the 8th of October. His excellency, in a conciliatory speech, directed their attention to the recent measures adopted by the Imperial Parliament, and strongly recommended them to make preparation for that renovated state of society which was then at hand. The Assembly replied in a manner equally wise and conciliatory, indicative of that great change of spirit and temper which their deliberations afterwards evinced. Mr. Watkis, one of the members for Kingston, gave notice that on an early day he would bring in a bill for the abolition of slavery. It was his wish, and also that of Mr. Campbell, of Montego Bay (another of the Kingston members), to have no intermediate period of apprenticeship; but a bill similar to what had passed the Imperial Legislature was ultimately adopted, which, on the 12th of December, received the sanction of his excellency. In course of the debates there were occasional manifestations of old principles, but it was clear that already they were at an enormous discount; and, with but little exception, their deliberations were not unworthy of a legislative assembly. The toleration laws of England were also adopted; and the sword of persecution was thrown back into its scabbard. From that time ministers and congregations have worshipped God in peace, none daring to disturb them.

At the District-meeting of January, 1834, the number of members returned was very considerably under the return of 1832. This was not owing to any great declension, but simply to the fact, that until that time many of the slaves were prevented from attending the means of grace. The Missionary Committee, therefore, properly directed the numbers to stand as had been previously returned. At that District the brethren rejoiced in the blessing of peace. More labourers were loudly called for, and they went to their stations with the full anticipation of being richly rewarded for all the toils and sufferings through which they had been called to pass.

On the tidings of the late insurrection reaching the mother country, the Missionary Committee deeply sympathized with their suffering brethren in Jamaica; and they put forth every effort to render them all possible help. None manifested a livelier interest in all their concerns than the late Rev. Richard Watson, whose name can never be forgotten by the Wesleyan missionary. But the ways of Providence are often dark and mysterious. Before he saw the full consummation of his hopes and wishes, God called his honoured servant home to his eternal reward; yet those plans of usefulness devised by his piety and judgment have survived, and will doubtless prove a blessing to generations yet unborn.

Mr. Watson was succeeded as senior secretary by the Rev. Dr. Bunting, whose qualifications for the highly responsible station are well known to be fully equal to those of his illustrious predecessor. Under his direc-

tion and that of his excellent colleagues, estimates of losses sustained by the Jamaica Mission, by the destruction of its property, were drawn out and forwarded to government, and application was made for redress. A special effort by the connexion was also made on behalf of the West India Missions, and in particular that of Jamaica. As under the apprenticeship system, which was to commence on the 1st of August, the benefits of the Christian Sabbath were to be secured, and as new doors of usefulness would then be thrown open in all directions, it became indispensably necessary to increase the number of missionaries, as well as to erect additional chapels and schools. All this was properly laid before the public, and not only was the call nobly responded to on the part of the Wesleyan body, but persons of all denominations, and some of the highest rank, contributed in the most liberal manner. One half of the estimated amount of damages was allowed by government, on condition of the other being raised by the friends of the Society, which was done accordingly.

After the passing of the Emancipation Act, Lord Mulgrave visited the different parishes, and addressed large assemblies of the negroes, explaining to them the nature of that new state on which they were about to enter, and those new responsibilities under which they would be laid. His efforts, together with those of the missionaries, were productive of much advantage, and greatly contributed to the peace and good order which marked the momentous change. But it appears that such exertions were too much for his lordship's health ;

and he was consequently under the necessity of quitting the Island, which he did on the 14th of March, 1834, after having held the reins of government nearly two years.

On the announcement of his excellency's intention of leaving the Island, and especially when it was known that it was on account of the delicate state of his health, a feeling of genuine sorrow was almost universal. Parochial addresses, expressive of sympathy and regret, were sent from Kingston, Port Royal, and, indeed, from the principal parishes throughout the Island. The ministers of the various denominations, expressing similar sentiments, adopted the same course; and their addresses were received and answered in the most kind and respectful manner. When it was known that it was his intention to depart from Kingston (in which city he had chiefly resided), preparations were made by the inhabitants suitable to the occasion. Both battalions of the militia were called out, who, together with the 22nd and 37th regiments, lined the streets from the Parade to the Ordnance Wharf. His excellency, the Countess of Mulgrave and suite, entered on the Parade at half-past four o'clock, and were received by a salute of twenty-four guns from the artillery, and advanced slowly through the military avenue to the Ordnance Yard. On her ladyship alighting from her carriage, a number of genteely dressed young negro women strewed her path with flowers; and his excellency, after cordially shaking hands with the principal persons in the Colony, went on board the *Rhadamanthus*, amidst the repeated thunders

of artillery, followed by the best wishes and earnest prayers of all the truly good throughout the whole Island.

The period of Lord Mulgrave's administration must ever be regarded as an eventful era in the history of Jamaica. When he entered upon his arduous duties, he found anarchy and confusion, religious intolerance, and the fiercest persecution threatening to destroy the last vestiges of society; and to all appearance the Island was on the verge of a civil war, far more calamitous than the late insurrection of the negroes. But by his unparalleled energy and perseverance, persecution and intolerance were put down, and a powerful but wicked faction was crushed, which had been the cause of such disorders. In the pursuit of his object he had at first to encounter a formidable opposition. The popular journals assailed him with all manner of abuse; and even his countess, (because, with the high spirit of a British lady, she had dared to trample on the pride of caste) shared with him in their most malignant vituperation. In the midst of all this he fearlessly held on his course, nor did he rest until he saw the foundations of civil and religious liberty on such a basis, as to secure their blessings to future generations. So sudden a change of feeling, especially on the subject of religious freedom, was perhaps scarcely ever witnessed before. No doubt some of the old persecutors remained who might be as malignant as ever, but they were in an instant thrown into a miserable minority, and became perfectly fangless. An immense majority of those who had been hostile, not only ceased

to oppose, but their feelings of hostility were exchanged for sentiments of liberality and good-will. The causes of this remarkable revolution will be examined in the following chapter.

The Earl of Mulgrave was succeeded in the government by the Marquis of Sligo, who arrived on the 4th of April. The noble marquis was himself a Jamaica proprietor, but having been a member of the West India Committee in the House of Lords, he was there, to use his own expression, "converted to anti-slavery principles;" on which he faithfully acted during the period of his sojourn in Jamaica. As he could not visit all parts of the Island before the first of August, he issued an address to the negroes, in simple and affectionate language, evincing the liveliest interest in their welfare; and although his talents were not equal to those of his predecessor, yet he showed himself to be, what he was afterwards called, "the negroes' friend!"

The eventful first of August at last arrived; a day, which, according to the predictions of some, was to be marked with disorder, rapine, and blood. But how delightfully were such predictions falsified! The behaviour of the emancipated negroes exceeded the expectations of their best friends. On that day, and the following Sabbath, thousands of the apprentices were seen bending their way to the houses of prayer. Jamaica had never witnessed such vast religious assemblies before. Never on that Island had so many voices been raised in praise to the Giver of all good: never had so many united in prayer at the throne of the heavenly grace: thousands of

petitions ascended to God on behalf of the King and the benevolent in the mother country, through whose efforts the oppressed had been set free. It is true restrictions did exist under the system of apprenticeship ; but much was gained. THE REIGN OF PERSECUTION WAS AT AN END, and no man was allowed to invade the sacred rights of conscience. *Sunday markets were abolished*, and all might employ the time of that day in attending to those sacred exercises for which the Sabbath was instituted.

CHAPTER XIII.

Extraordinary change in the state of public feeling.—Remarks on Colonial Society—Management of Estates—Agents in London—Governors of Jamaica—Correspondence of the Colonial Office—Favourable Changes accounted for—Altered aspect of the Mission—Rev. Valentine Ward sent out as the special Representative of the Conference and Missionary Committee—District Meeting of 1835—Death of Mr. Ward and five other Missionaries—Unprecedented Prosperity of the Mission—Establishment of Day Schools—Temporary Agitation—Erection of a new Chapel in Kingston—Jubilee of the Mission—New Marriage Act passes the Legislature—Enlightened Liberality of the House of Assembly and of his Excellency Sir Charles Metcalfe—Report on the state of the Mission—Visit of the Rev. Robert Young—Great depression of Colonial Interests—The present “transition state” of Jamaica Society—The present state of the Mission—Concluding remarks.

It has been observed in the preceding chapter, that not only did the reign of persecution in Jamaica terminate with the passing of the Emancipation Act, but that feelings of hostility were suddenly exchanged for sentiments of liberality and good-will. This remarkable change has been attributed to a variety of causes. It has been very generally thought that the twenty millions voted by parliament as compensation for the slaves, was what principally conciliated the Colonists, and disarmed them of their hostility to the teachers of religion : but it is obvious that this had very little to do with the matter ; for although the West India interest at home was benefited by the measure, very few of the planters on the Island derived any advantage whatsoever : the

parties who did were generally amongst those who had never been disposed to persecution. It has been more properly ascribed to the firm determination of the parent government (at last unambiguously expressed) to stop the rage of persecuting violence, and to secure to every British subject the right to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience ; but this alone does not solve the question. The strong arm of power may, indeed, wrest the weapons of mischief from the hands of an enemy, but there must be something very peculiar in his case if such an act would destroy his enmity and change him into a friend. The feeling of the Colonists after the passing of the Emancipation Act, was not that of an unwilling and sullen submission to an authority which they could not resist ; it was a feeling of respect for the missionaries, and which has often been manifested in the most unequivocal manner. In what way then the firmness of the government, as expressed either by its own acts or by its representatives, operated, so as to produce the extraordinary change, is the question now to be considered. But it is not solely on account of the importance of the question itself, that the attention of the reader is to be directed to it ; its examination will require us to take a view of the state of Colonial society while slavery existed, and to give an outline of the leading features in the character of the Colonists, as presented during that period, which it is hoped will not be uninteresting nor uninformative. It may be said, that such an investigation is beyond the province of an ecclesiastical historian, and may lead even to that of the

politician ; be that as it may, the writer feels it to be nothing short of a grave duty to make the attempt, especially after having given such a narrative as that of the Wesleyan Mission to Jamaica.

It is a remarkable fact, that the ecclesiastical history of Jamaica differs materially in its external aspect from that of the other West India Colonies. The introduction of Missions in most of them, was indeed accompanied with opposition, but in general it soon subsided, and Christian missionaries were treated with kindness. In Jamaica it was far otherwise, as the preceding pages too clearly demonstrate. Are the Jamaica Colonists then to be regarded as so much more outrageous, and so much worse men than the others, as the aspect of their history would seem to indicate ? Not so ; and had it not been on account of some very unfavourable circumstances in which they were placed as compared with the others, it cannot be doubted but that the planters of Jamaica would not have been disgraced by persecution more than the same class in the sister Colonies.

By far the most influential portion of the white Colonists (and it is to the whites alone that the present observations are to be applied) were natives of the mother country, and generally belonged to the middling or lower classes of society. They were not in general liberally educated ; and they left their home at an early period of life, long before their minds were expanded by intercourse, or their judgment matured by experience and observation. On their coming to Jamaica they were surprised to find themselves a sort of aristocracy on ac-

count of their colour. The evils of slavery became familiar. Their reading was confined to Colonial publications. In the short space of two or three years they became managers of estates, and not long afterwards many might be seen on the magisterial or judicial bench, or heard declaiming in the Senate. Jamaica was a perfect paradise for enjoyment; and as to their field of observation, it was their world. Amongst themselves there was also a kindness and hospitality little known even at home; and to be opposed to Colonial habits, was sure to awaken suspicion, and was sometimes regarded as enmity to humanity itself. Meanwhile few attended any place of worship; and on estates the comforts of the domestic circle were nearly unknown. Amongst the white natives matters were rather worse. Marriage, indeed, was more common, but they were born an aristocracy, nurtured in Colonial prejudices, and were generally vain and ostentatious to such a degree as to expose them to the contempt of the British settlers, whose manners were more dignified because much less pompous. The influence of this class was most extensive in the so called "virtuous parish of Portland," the "loyal and independent parish of St. Ann," and in the district of Manchioneal. Both classes were incapable of taking an enlarged view of matters of difference between the Island and the mother country; and these, presented only through a Colonial medium, were seen in an unfavourable and improper light. It will be already seen that Jamaica presented an inviting field for those artful and unprincipled men who flattered the prejudices of the

planters, only that they might live upon their substance.

It is to be observed, that of all the local interests that of the planting or agricultural was by far the most powerful; and all other occupations, as well as the habits of the planters, were regulated by its influence. On sugar plantations, the white officers were book-keepers, overseers, and attorneys.* Of these the station of the book-keeper was the lowest, and was the first the young planter had to occupy. The appellation was probably first imposed with a view to delude young men at home as to the nature of the situation. It is certain many went out under the impression, that their principal business would be to keep accounts, when on their arrival they found that at first they had more to do with "keeping swine." It pertained to them to take the oversight of the negroes in the field, or when employed at the works, and their condition was almost as servile as that of the slaves themselves. They had no secure hold of their places, and the word of the overseer was sufficient for their discharge. "Saintship" would have been an unpardonable offence, and the mere suspicion of it would have been enough to blast their prospects. But they were supported by hope. In two or three years they expected a release from their drudgery, and to become overseers; and, if they lived, their expectations were often realized. The overseer was the highest officer necessarily resident on the property; his salary was

* In the smaller islands book-keepers are called overseers, and the overseer in Jamaica is there styled the manager. These appellations are much more descriptive of the situations they are meant to designate.

considerable, and in other respects his situation was comfortable; but he was as much dependent on the attorney, as the book-keeper was upon him. He also might be dismissed at a moment's warning, and all his fond calculations upon lucrative attorneyships, might thus vanish like a morning dream. Many attorneys had various estates confided to their care, and as in later times their emoluments often exceeded the profits of the proprietors, the attorneyship was the highest eminence to which the rising planter sought to aspire. As a body they were thorough Colonists, but though their station was elevated, they were under such a strict mutual surveillance, as required the utmost caution. "Saintship" in an attorney (or even in a proprietor) would have exposed him to the pillory of the *Courant*, or other kindred journals, and might have been attended with very disagreeable consequences.* Few of them knew anything personally of the missionaries, and fewer still were capable of appreciating the spiritual character and objects of their work. They had been trained in the same school as their dependents, and, with few exceptions, their prejudices against the teachers of religion were equally strong. The reader will again see a state of society affording but too many facilities for the operation of those wicked influences which have been adverted to in the preceding paragraph.

The practice of appointing an Agent for the Colony

* For an illustration of this the reader may consult the evidence of Messrs. Taylor and Wildman, before the Commons' Committee on Slavery in 1832.

in London with a large salary, was also an arrangement which during the continuance of slavery operated very injuriously on the prejudices of the Colonists. It is very difficult to perceive what interest can at any time be served by such agency ; but it is certain that during the period referred to, its tendency was to keep up a feeling of irritation against the parent government, and to increase the hostility to the religious teachers of the slaves. There were certain facts with which it was of the highest importance to the character and interests of the Colonists they should have been made acquainted. They ought to have known that no government had any wish to sacrifice the Colonies ; that even such men as Wilberforce and Buxton had no desire to deprive the owners of slaves of just compensation, for such losses as they might sustain by their emancipation ; that the clamours of the popular journals were based on falsehood ; and that the missionaries were not the paid agents of the Anti-slavery Society, employed in disseminating sedition amongst the slaves. But what Jamaica agent ever dared to assert those facts to his constituents, or to impress them in a way commensurate with their importance ? His side was that of the Colonists ; and as he was their oracle, the weight of his statements was prodigious. But had he been disposed to insist on the above-mentioned facts, he must have known what would have been the result. It would have been said, that he too had gone over to the side of the enemy ; that he had betrayed their interests, and had become as much a “ saint ” as the King’s ministers, or as Wilberforce and

Buxton themselves. It would have been his last response, and the oracle would have been "struck dumb for ever."

It is not intended to convey the slightest reflection on the integrity of those gentlemen who have held the situation of Jamaica agents. It is by no means insinuated that they designedly kept back the truth from their constituents. The fact rather appears to be that one reason for their appointment was their known adherence to the Colonial side; the advocate and his clients holding views precisely similar. If so, the blind led the blind, and "they both fell into the ditch."

Hitherto the remarks on the state of society are more or less applicable to all the West India Colonies, though with some differences unfavourable to Jamaica; but a few other circumstances of the most disadvantageous character remain to be noticed, and which (at least to a great extent) were peculiar to the latter.

In the other Islands the early outbursts of persecuting violence were in general soon corrected or repressed by the fidelity and energy of the governors, many of whom not only extended the shield of protection to the missionaries, but treated them with civility and confidence. In Jamaica the conduct of those high functionaries was very different; and for more than the first quarter of the present century, the greater part of them were either totally incompetent to the duties of their office, or notoriously unworthy of the confidence reposed in them by the sovereigns whose commissions they held. Within the space of twenty-seven years no fewer than six enact-

ments, framed with the design of crushing the missionaries, passed the Legislature, and only in one instance was the consent of the governor withheld, namely, that of Sir John Keane in 1828; the others were all disallowed by the King in Council. The reader is already aware that the first attempt was made in 1802, and no apology can be urged on behalf of Major-General Nugent for having at that period given his sanction to such an intolerant proceeding. Let the results be carefully attended to. The law was disallowed at home, but this only exasperated the Colonists the more, until another law, equally intolerant, but more artful, received the consent of Sir Eyre Coote, which had the effect of silencing the missionaries, and shutting up their chapels. Again, through the paternal interference of the Sovereign, the nuisance was swept from the country; and the Duke of Manchester was appointed governor, in the expectation that the best interests of the Colony would be promoted by that arrangement. His grace was allowed to retain the office for nearly twenty years; but he also degraded his dignity by consenting to the act of 1810, and afterwards to that of 1826. In the space of three years, the same example was followed by the weak Earl of Belmore; who was reprimanded for his conduct, and more particularly, as his immediate predecessor had defeated a similar attempt only twelve months before, and had been highly approved of by the government. The Colonists were now wound up to the highest pitch of fury, and they proceeded to deeds of violence unknown before. Their conduct is justly to be condemned, and

indeed execrated, but the intelligent reader, considering what sort of governors had for many years ruled in the Island, will not refuse to mingle pity with his censure. An immense mass of evil had been accumulating under their administrations, which required all the energy of the Earl of Mulgrave to remove. It was happy for the community that that nobleman possessed powers quite adequate to the work, and was equally disposed to its performance.

In addition to the above, it must also be acknowledged, that the tone of official correspondence on the part of the government at home was often injudicious, and but ill calculated to check the evils they wished to eradicate. Their despatches to the Legislature were generally in a style such as would have been adapted to statesmen of large and comprehensive views, and well skilled in all the branches of political science. Is it necessary to say that the House of Assembly was not composed of such statesmen? What they required was the wisdom of a parent to guide them, together with a parent's affection, and above all, a parent's firmness, and it was in this last element that the correspondence of the Colonial Office was principally defective. It is true that in the despatch of Mr. Huskisson in 1827, and that of Sir George Murray in 1830, there was a manly firmness; but in both those documents the good effect was neutralized by the injudicious manner in which they were eulogized for the apparently ameliorating trifles, which were contained in the bills which were disallowed. But trifles though they were, the Assembly knew very well that

they had no wish to see them incorporated with the slave-code, unless, as the price of such concession, the government would also sanction the clauses which were intended to harrass the Christian missionary, and to put an end to his labours. They deserved no praise, but rather censure ; and it is a fact, that those expressions of the government were interpreted only as indications of weakness, and not as sentiments of good-will. The firm attitude had to be adopted at last, and the happy result proves the correctness of the view here taken of its efficiency. Lord Mulgrave treated the Assembly as they ought to have been treated all along, and backed as he was by the government at home, the fierce elements at once ceased to rage, and there was a great calm.

The reader will now attend to the influences of a licentious press, on a state of society unhappily so well prepared for being powerfully affected by it. It has been already observed, that the reading of the planters was in general almost exclusively confined to the colonial publications, of which the *Courant* was by far the most popular, and exerted an influence which it is impossible to describe ; none of the other papers furnished an antidote to its poison, excepting the *Watchman*, which was seldom seen by the planters, and was moreover regarded only as an enemy. The *Courant*, therefore, was all-powerful, and its power was increased by the well known, but humbling fact, that two ministers were amongst its patrons, and contributed to its most infamous columns. The misguided and heated Colonists in the meanwhile eagerly received all its statements,

and believed them as firmly as if they had been revelations from heaven. They were taught that the missionaries were the emissaries of a hostile faction at home, and were only seeking their destruction, and that they must be expelled from the Island: that the mother-country was in fact as much dependent upon Jamaica as Jamaica was upon Britain: and that should she any longer interfere with their institutions, then they would arise, and mighty in the strength of their Unions, and terrible in the number of their bayonets, and in the valour of their militia, any force the parent state could send against them would be speedily swept from the Island, as with the besom of destruction. *All this was believed!* and the unhappy Colonists impelled each other onward with increasing velocity in a career of infamy and ruin. It was at this critical time that the voice of British power burst like thunder on the distracted Island. Lord Mulgrave had exhibited the true dimensions of the House of Assembly, and in the name of the Sovereign demanded the consciences of his majesty's subjects to be unfettered. The Imperial Legislature at the same time decreed that slavery should be forever abolished, and that the oppressed should be set free. The Assembly, which had been recently so courageous became tame and harmless, under the pretext that compensation was to be awarded for the slaves. But it was a very different compensation from that which had been clamoured for, and but a small portion indeed would come to them or the planters on the estates. In their address to Lord Mulgrave they averred

that they had never defended slavery, but upon the rights of property. As this was partly true, his Lordship acted wisely in not disputing the credit which they claimed. The fact is, *the Colonial citadel was taken* : why should he have denied to the vanquished to march out with the honours of war ?

It may now be seen how a spirit of rancorous hostility to missions was so long perpetuated, and in what way the firmness of the government was productive of the extraordinary change in public feeling in 1834. The Colonists as a body were united by the same views of their interests, and by their dependence on each other ; and were generally exasperated against the mother country as well as against the missionaries : but they were all the while labouring under the greatest delusion, which by the determined measures then adopted was almost instantly dispelled. The voice of the British nation was lifted up in the cause of righteousness, and that voice demanded their submission. But where now were the men who were to lead them to victory over the British arms, and to deliver the country from British interference ? They were awed into silence ; while their boasted Unions were broken into fragments, and scattered as by the winds of heaven. Their eyes at once were opened and everything was seen in a different light. They saw that the missionaries were not the contemptible vermin they had been taught to believe : that they had rights which would be vindicated ; and even a standing in society of which they had formed no conception. The fallacies of the Courant were effectually

exposed ; its credit was gone, and the insolvent editor and proprietor was sent to languish in a gaol. It was seen that the day of freedom was at hand, and that the missionaries, of all others, were the men the most likely to be instrumental in securing the blessings of peace. The sword of persecution was exchanged for the olive branch, and religious liberty became firmly established in the land.

The preceding observations present the character of the great body of the Colonists in a less odious light than that in which it has been often regarded, and certainly as better than what might be inferred from the ecclesiastical history of Jamaica. Few of them knew anything of the missionaries, excepting what had been conveyed through the channels of misrepresentation and falsehood. In no part of the Island were they so well known as in certain districts in St. Thomas in the East, where for years they had been treated with much civility, and where the kindness of several of the leading inhabitants cannot be forgotten. There were some even in St. Ann's itself, who, had they been anywhere else, would in all probability have been preserved from that disgrace into which it is much to be lamented they ever fell. The Honourable Henry Cox was certainly a very amiable man, and at heart no friend to persecution : Mr. Betty, who is alluded to in the correspondence of Mr. Whitehouse, was also in many respects an estimable individual, and as a neighbour deserving of esteem : even Hamilton Brown himself, though possessing very little information, was a man whose general conduct was marked by much

kindness and generosity. But they were surrounded by vipers, and were led astray by those whose example ought to have led them into a different course. Had such men only enjoyed the fear of God, their characters would have been preserved untarnished, and they would have been kept from that unenviable prominence which exhibits both their weakness and their guilt. Besides these, it cannot be doubted but that there were many in less elevated stations who secretly cherished sentiments of respect for the missionaries, but who, from a want of religious principle, were afraid to avow it. No doubt some of those suffered themselves to be drawn into the work of persecution, much against their own inclinations, and would rejoice when the day came which released them from a service they had never loved. The Colonists as a body had many faults, and in the matter of religious persecution their guilt was great, but the guilt of those venal and unprincipled men was much greater, who, for their own selfish ends, took advantage from their position to lead them onward in their career of violence, until they were covered with disgrace, and many plunged into ruin. But of all the parties implicated in those atrocities, the greatest degree of blame must be attached to those worthless governors, the nuisance of whose private example was a moral pestilence, and who in their public capacity neither acknowledged God nor faithfully represented their King.

In returning to the history of the Mission after this long digression, it will be found presenting a totally altered aspect. The arduous struggles under the reign of

slavery were over, and its progress from the year 1834, becomes more assimilated to the prosperous operations of Christian churches at home. It was the intention of the writer, after a few general observations, to have concluded the narrative at this period, when it may be said that the leading peculiarities which had hitherto distinguished the Mission in a great measure ceased to exist. But as some of its most glorious spiritual triumphs have been witnessed since the establishment of civil and religious liberty, he purposes to give a brief outline of the principal events which have transpired since that important era. This outline will be sufficient to point out the results of so much toil and suffering on the part of many of the missionaries, and of the grievous and cruel hardships so long endured on the part of many of their flocks ; but as it is not intended to enter into any minute or lengthened details, what remains is only to be regarded as supplementary to the preceding part of the narrative.

At the close of the year 1834 the Rev. Valentine Ward, who had been for upwards of thirty years employed in the ministry at home, was sent out as the special representative of the Conference and the Missionary Committee. It was intended that he should visit all the stations in the West Indies, but to act at first as the chairman of the Jamaica district. He arrived on the 19th of December, along with the Rev. Messrs. Edmondson and Randerson, and on the 13th of January the District-meeting began its sittings in Kingston. As the Committee had sent out several

missionaries some months before, no fewer than twenty-five were assembled on this occasion. Those who had borne the burden and heat of the day were glad to hail so many additional labourers, but they were especially grateful for the presence of their chairman, from whose long experience, ardent zeal, and paternal affection they calculated upon the happiest results.

On account of the troubles following the insurrection, the missionaries were unable for the two preceding years to give a satisfactory statement of the number of their members, especially in the northern parishes. But the year 1834 had passed over in peace, and as they had enjoyed their religious privileges under the protection of British laws, the scattered sufferers were once more gathered together; and it afforded real joy to find, that under their trials they had in general maintained their Christian steadfastness. The following is the return of members and of scholars in the Sabbath schools, as reported at the District-meeting of January, 1835.

	Members.	Scholars.
Kingston, North . . .	2301	175
Kingston, South . . .	1256	179
Spanish Town . . .	1509	471
Morant Bay	1312	72
Grateful Hill	615	206
Montego Bay	1050	365
Falmouth	852	130
St. Ann's	1703	—
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Carried forward .	10599	1598

Brought forward	10599	1598
Bath	1479	—
Stoney Hill	621	191
Port Antonio	294	81
Lucea, &c.	33	—
Oracabessa	269	—
Black River	70	—
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	13365	1870
Number of members } in 1832 . . . }	12835	
	<hr/>	
Increase	530	
	<hr/> <hr/>	

It was not the intention of the Conference or the Missionary Committee that Mr. Ward should remain long in the West Indies. The object of his mission was rather to visit the different stations, and to give such instructions and advice as in his judgment the altered circumstances of the work might require. The business of the District-meeting being finished, he entered upon these duties with much ardour, and wherever he went he was received with the liveliest demonstrations of affection and respect. On Sunday, the 22nd of March, he preached at the new station of the "Ramble," on Proverbs ii. 10, 11, and in the evening went down to Montego Bay. Here his labours terminated. He was seized with violent fever, and on the following Thursday he fell asleep, in the fifty-fifth year of his age and thirty-fourth of his ministry.

The shock occasioned by the death of Mr. Ward is

indescribable. It was felt throughout the Island, and persons of all classes sympathized with the missionaries under so painful a bereavement. But other trials of a similar description quickly ensued. In course of the same year the Rev. Messrs. Wilcox, Wood, Walters, Barr, and Corbett, fell by the hand of death. As these brethren (with the exception of the last) had been each a few years on the Island, hopes were fondly cherished of their increasing usefulness for years to come. But God in his wise providence had otherwise determined, and their bereaved families and flocks had to bow to his will, and to say, "Let him do as seemeth him good."

But although the year 1835 had its sorrows it had also its transcendent joys. The places of those who had fallen were quickly supplied by others sent out by the Missionary Committee; and on almost every circuit they were able to bestow additional labour on such places as were already occupied, or to extend their efforts to others which loudly called for their help. The hand of the Lord was eminently with his servants, and it was found at the following District-meeting that the increase of members amounted to no fewer than *three thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight*.

While slavery continued the state of education on the Island was very defective, and, with the exception of a few of the principal towns, the only instruction given to the young was almost exclusively at the Sunday schools connected with the missionary stations. This important subject engaged the attention of the parent government, and the sum of £20,000 was placed at their disposal by

Parliament, to assist in the erection of school-houses, thereby to facilitate the progress of education in the West India Colonies. The government wisely determined to divide the greater part of this sum amongst the religious societies, on condition that their friends should contribute one-third more for the purpose of still further diffusing the benefits of this salutary measure. The sum allotted to the Wesleyan Society was £3000, which was accepted on the condition already specified ; but it may here be added, that for some years afterwards additional grants were made and accepted on similar terms. The Missionary Committee were fully alive to the importance of carrying out the benevolent intentions of the government, and at the Conference of 1836 the Rev. Thomas H. Bewley was sent to Jamaica to superintend this new department of missionary labour.

On the arrival of Mr. Bewley he entered at once on the duties of his office, and received all the help from the other missionaries their engagements would allow. Several new day schools were immediately formed, and until the erection of the school-buildings, they were accommodated in such houses as could be obtained. While these operations were going forward, C. J. Latrobe, Esq. was sent out by government “ to inspect those schools on account of which any share of the Parliamentary grants had been applied, and to furnish a report on the state of education in the Colonies.” He landed in Jamaica in April, 1837 ; visited the different parishes ; and was enabled to present such a view of the religious and educational statistics of Jamaica as had never been col-

lected before. It appears that at first he expected greater progress would have been made in the erection of school-houses; but on due enquiry, he found that the delay had not arisen from any want of zeal on the part of those bodies to whom the grants had been made, but was entirely attributable to causes over which they had no controul, and in particular to the difficulty of obtaining suitable sites, with sufficient titles, in localities where schools were most urgently required.

It is pleasing to know that what had been done in this department was highly satisfactory to her Majesty's government. After having perused the report of Mr. Latrobe, Lord Glenelg, the secretary for the Colonies, forwarded a despatch to the governor of Jamaica on the subject, in which document his Lordship is pleased to express himself in the following terms. He says,

“ Although the completion of the school-buildings to which Parliamentary aid has been appropriated has been so frequently retarded, by the causes above alluded to, it is gratifying to perceive that the main object of their erection has nevertheless been in a great measure fulfilled, by means immediately provided; and that where the school-houses have not been actually finished and occupied, schools have been established, and are in operation at, or near, the sites of the proposed buildings. I advert with much satisfaction to the assurance of Mr. Latrobe, that although considering ‘how very recently the great majority of the schools now reported have been instituted, and also the difficulty and uncertainty that attend all first efforts, under the circumstances of the Colony, he cannot be expected to give any decided opinion as

to the actual efficiency of the greater number ; but the promise held out by all, more or less, is sufficiently encouraging.' I feel," says his lordship, " bound in justice to the exertions of the various religious societies, of the trustees of the Mico charity, and of others who are engaged in this important work, to express my conviction that a powerful impulse has been given to negro education by the aid voted by Parliament, and applied through their agency, and that from a continuance of such zealous co-operation the happiest results may be expected."

The cause of education in connection with the Wesleyan Mission was prosecuted under the superintendency of Mr. Bewley with success ; and after his death, which happened in July, 1838, he was succeeded by Mr. Armstrong who was specially appointed to fill the important station. By his exertions, in connection with the missionaries, the school machinery was completed and brought into full operation. Great encouragement was given from the manner in which the cause of education was countenanced on the Island. The parochial vestries, as well as the House of Assembly, contributed liberally towards its establishment and extension, and an enlightened zeal was manifested for the improvement of the lower classes of the population. The number and state of the Wesleyan Schools will be presented on another page.

But while the work of religion in its various branches was advancing on the Island with unprecedented rapidity, it is humbling to be compelled to state, that in 1837 the Mission was assailed by a species of opposition

hitherto unknown to its history. In former times it had to contend against foes from without, but then, for the first time, it was assailed by a systematic and rancorous hostility from within. That turbulent and factious spirit which had agitated the Society in England had scarcely subsided, when, contrary to all that could have been expected, it broke out in a few of the Societies in Jamaica. The unfortunate individual with whom it originated, had been employed for several years as a missionary in the other West India Islands, and having been permitted to spend a year at home, he was sent out to Jamaica in 1829. After the appointment of the Rev. V. Ward to his office, he was disappointed in his expectations, and having been summoned to appear before his brethren he resigned his connection with the Mission, and drew away a considerable number of members on the Grateful Hill and Kingston circuits. As usual the spirit of enmity was very bitter, but it soon subsided. It would indeed have been a marvellous instance of ingratitude, had the Wesleyans in Jamaica turned against their faithful pastors, especially while the men were still with them who had suffered bonds and imprisonment for the sake of promoting their best interests ; but it has to be recorded to their honour that it was far otherwise. They generally resisted the insidious influence which was used to lead them astray, and cleaved to the Mission with a fidelity which nothing could shake. Indeed had it not been for mentioning the honourable conduct of those who resisted such attempts, the whole affair has proved so harmless as to render it otherwise unworthy of

notice. At the commencement of the agitation, the number of members on the Island was 18,715, and at the close of the following year, they had increased to 20,152.

As the congregations in Kingston had greatly increased since 1834, and as many parts of the old chapel had become much decayed, it had been resolved to take down that venerable edifice, and erect another on its site. This project excited great interest, and James Taylor, Esq., one of the members of Assembly for Port Royal, brought the case before the Legislature, and moved a grant of £500 to assist the Wesleyans in this undertaking. But what a change! Former days had passed away; and better principles took the place of old ones, with a rapidity almost unexampled. Several gentlemen spoke highly of the Wesleyan missionaries and of the benefits resulting to the Island from their labours. The issue may now be anticipated. The motion of the honourable member for Port Royal was carried, and the handsome donation was contributed accordingly. The Common Council of Kingston also gave their aid, and many of all classes assisted with great liberality. It was more than two years afterwards before this chapel was finished; a spacious Gothic structure, and forming one of the noblest architectural ornaments of which the British West Indies can boast.

Another important event happened in Jamaica in 1838. The question of the apprenticeship having been warmly agitated at home, with a view to the abolition of the restrictions imposed under that system, the Colonial

Legislature at its recent session took it up, and passed an act for its termination. The 1st of August was the day appointed for the apprentices entering on the new and unfettered condition of British subjects. On that day the various places of worship were again thrown open, and crowded with grateful worshippers ; and throughout the whole country the conduct of the liberated apprentices on that occasion, was such as evinced the inestimable advantages of religious instruction, and was in the highest degree honourable to themselves. Thus the last vestiges of actual slavery were swept away, and Jamaica became a free colony.

In connection with the sitting of the District meeting of 1839, another Jubilee was celebrated, namely that of the Mission. On the 19th of January, fifty years had passed away since Dr. Coke first landed on the Island, bringing along with him the message of salvation ; and the people of Kingston prepared to celebrate that event in a manner becoming its importance. The following extract of a letter from a missionary on the spot, descriptive of what then took place, will be read with interest. He says :—

“ Our faithful people entered into the matter with joyous alacrity, and it was pleasing to witness the evident delight with which they made the necessary arrangements, and testified their attachment to that Methodism, which under God had been made so great a blessing to them, their families, and their country. The handsome and spacious chapel in Thames street (Wesley Chapel) was splendidly decorated ; and the words, ‘ *What hath God wrought !* ’ and the memo-

rable motto, 'The best of all is God is with us,' were inscribed in large letters on a blue and red ground ; while the venerated names of Coke, Bunting, Jackson, &c., were done in a similar manner, and the whole building was adorned in a way I shall not attempt to describe. About a thousand people were assembled to breakfast, and the addresses, which were suitable to the occasion, were listened to with the liveliest interest and pleasure. There was no public collection made, but it was thought something should be done in a more substantial way to celebrate the Jubilee of Methodism in Jamaica, and a subscription was spontaneously entered into which soon amounted to £400. This sum is to be devoted to the new chapel on the Parade (Coke Chapel), as the most suitable monument to that most devoted servant of Christ and prince of modern missionaries whose name it bears. Although I was on many accounts delighted with our jubilee day, yet in more than all, I rejoiced in the unanimity and Christian love manifested by our Kingston people. It seemed as if they were of 'one heart and soul.' Gratitude to God for Methodism, and the blessings it has brought to thousands in the land, was the prevailing sentiment ; and the dying words of our venerable founder, 'The best of all is God is with us,' were frequently repeated, and responded to with adoring joy by all present. It added not a little to the interest of the occasion, that the Centenary of Methodism in the land of our fathers and the Jubilee of Methodism in Jamaica, fell in the same year ; nor was the unparalleled liberality of our friends on the other side of the Atlantic forgotten—liberality which we cannot hope to rival, but which we doubt not our people here will humbly attempt to imitate."

Let the reader only carefully study the above extract; let him contrast the scene which it describes with the scenes which Jamaica presented at the commencement of the Mission, and he cannot fail to catch something of the same spirit which inspired that large assembly. For generations the class which composed it had been treated with infinite scorn; but what an altered appearance do they now present. Here were hundreds of the comparatively poor, whose respectability and intelligence, elevated their rank in society; but besides them there were not a few who had been raised far above the state of comparative obscurity, and of those some were gentleman who adorned the magisterial bench, or were honoured as useful members of the Senate itself. All were animated by the same spirit, and all were proud to acknowledge their filial relation to Wesleyan Methodism, to which under God they owed so much, both as it respects the life that now is, and that which is to come.

For some time a matter of immense importance had occupied the attention of the missionaries; namely, the state of the Marriage Laws on the Island. During the period of slavery they had solemnized negro marriages, from which no inconvenience resulted; but as the legality of those marriages was now called in question, they represented the case to the Committee who lost no time in directing the attention of government to the subject. Laws were sent out for the crown Colonies, and in the others the governors were directed to bring the matter without delay before the respective Legislatures. In the year 1839 the Wesleyan missionaries suggested the form

of a bill to meet the case, which was introduced by Mr. Taylor into the House of Assembly. That branch of the Legislature were exceedingly desirous of having this matter properly settled, and the bill passed with very few emendations. It was, however, long under consideration in the Council, who agreed to it in substance, but made such alterations in its details as involved much trouble and expense. The object of the bill was not merely to authorize the missionaries to solemnize marriages in future, but also to legalize such as could be proved to have been solemnized by them in the past. It was the nature of the evidence required which occasioned so much expense and inconvenience, and of which complaint was generally made. The bill passed in April the following year; but at the ensuing session another measure was adopted, differing in very few points from what the missionaries recommended; and thus this most important affair was satisfactorily adjusted: It deserves to be mentioned, that the Assembly honourably reimbursed the missionaries for what they had expended in carrying out the original measure for the benefit of their people.

In addition to what has been stated, the reader will be gratified with a short extract of a letter from a respectable missionary, with reference to the House of Assembly, which was written when the marriage bill was in progress; which, although it relates principally to that affair, notices also some other matters which reflect the highest honour on that now enlightened and public-spirited body. He says:—

“The House also during its session just closed, has liberally granted £1200, in answer to the petitions of four of the missionaries who were engaged in chapel-building ; and it is due to the members to state, that they have manifested a strong desire to meet the wishes of the missionaries with reference to the marriage law. The bill is not yet printed, but it has received the governor’s assent ; and as soon as it can be procured I shall furnish the Committee with a copy. Should there be anything in it objectionable it must not be attributed to the Assembly ; that House desires to deal fairly and liberally with all classes of the inhabitants.”

It is somewhat unpleasant to state, that under the administration of Sir Lionel Smith considerable agitation and dissatisfaction prevailed in the Colony. In 1839 he was succeeded by Sir Charles Metcalfe, afterwards Lord Metcalfe, whose talents and prudence were quite equal to his charge. His Excellency entered upon his work in a conciliatory spirit, and shewed that he had the interests of all at heart, and was earnestly desirous of promoting them. He visited many parts of the Island, and afforded his countenance and support to the charitable and religious institutions which he inspected. He contributed the sum of fifty pounds to each of the chapels of Kingston and Bath, and a similar amount to the school in Falmouth. Some time afterwards, when the machinery of the school system was being completed under the superintendency of Mr. Armstrong, his excellency was pleased to visit several of the schools, and was so highly satisfied with what he witnessed as to re-

quest that he might be entered as an annual subscriber of one hundred pounds.

The work of God was now eminently prosperous, Chapels and school-houses were multiplied in various directions, and not only did the House of Assembly contribute towards their erection, but also several of the parochial vestries imitated the same example of enlightened liberality. These instances cannot be enumerated in detail, but the state of the Mission in 1842, and especially of the schools, will be seen from the following extract from the annual report, which will be read with interest, which is as follows :—

“ The summary of the past year shows that a measure of success still attends our labours, and that immediate as well as remote advantages are secured. It cannot be overlooked that we are increasing, although others are decreasing. While we thus learn that the purposes of God are not to be accomplished ‘ by might or by power,’ the encouragement is afforded, that by the blessing of God the same means will continue to afford their portion of success, till the great and final result be completely attained. We would not forget the subordinate relation of schools to the preaching of the gospel, but we claim an affinity of the closest kind for the scriptural education which it is our object to impart. It cannot be otherwise than that a great effect should be produced by the daily education of nearly 3000 children. They must receive impressions, and be brought under the power of motives, which will give weight to the character and influence of their piety, should they in after life not depart from us. The model seminary in Kingston ranks among its scholars the

children of all classes.—the future legislators of the land, those who shall rule and those who shall obey. Can their identity with Methodistic operation be forgotten, or ever cease to be admonitory or stimulating?"

But while the number of members was gradually increasing on the circuits, new stations occupied, and chapels and school-houses built in many parts of the Island, those extended efforts pressed heavily on the funds of the parent society: with a view to remedy this, and to regulate other matters belonging to the Mission, the Committee in London sent out the Rev. Robert Young in 1843, to the scene of his early labours, to preside at the meeting of the District in January in the following year, and to make such arrangements, for a reduction of the grant from the parent society, as might be practicable. The brethren for some time had their eye fixed on this most desirable object, and in connection with their people, they were enabled to state their conviction, that the amount granted to the Mission might be lessened in course of the year by the sum of £1000; expressing also their hopes that in a few years the Mission itself would be able to meet its demands from its own resources.

It must however be stated, that the hopes which were cherished and expressed at the District meeting of 1844 have not been fully realized. The Island was then on the eve of those disastrous changes which have interrupted its civil prosperity, and involved so many in poverty and ruin. Vast numbers of the members have suffered, and

from the abandonment of estates, and other causes, they have been forced to quit their ancient localities, and have been scattered throughout the Island, in many instances beyond the reach of the Christian ministry. The result has been what may be expected, namely, a considerable diminution of members since 1844. The Wesleyans have indeed in this respect sustained but a very inconsiderable loss compared with some of the other societies ; and it is pleasing to know that the number of missionaries has not been lessened, that not one station has been relinquished, and that the number of scholars has increased rather than diminished.

It is not intended to pronounce any opinion whatsoever, either on the policy or equity of the recent measures of government, which have resulted in the present unprecedented depression of West India interests. But it may be remarked, that nothing has as yet appeared, which ought in the slightest degree to shake the principle so long maintained by the friends of the negroes ;—that the labour of free men is cheaper and more profitable than that of slaves. Slavery requires a long array of attorneys, overseers, book-keepers, and other expensive concomitants, which in a *settled state of freedom* will be found unnecessary. It is true that in Jamaica slavery itself is abolished ; but many of its expensive appendages still remain, and, perhaps, cannot be entirely dispensed with, until society shall have passed through the inconveniences of a transition state, and becomes settled down on the basis of freedom. Much of the social fabric was raised upon the basis of slavery, which must be gradually

taken down and erected anew upon a very different foundation. This is the very process at present in operation, and which occasions all that inconvenience and suffering which seem to be inseparable from all great changes however beneficial. It does not appear that any political, or fiscal arrangements can possibly secure the estates in the West Indies to British proprietors. It seems to be the design of Providence that they shall pass into the hands of "the sons of the soil," not by means of robbery and bloodshed, but according to the established laws of human society; and that before long a race of men shall be lords of those fair and fertile possessions, on which their fathers toiled and suffered as unpitied and degraded slaves. Should the work of godliness prosper in Jamaica, the present cloud will soon pass, and brighter days will yet shine than ever dawned on it before. It is possible that its exports may not be so considerable as in former times, as more of its productions will be enjoyed by its own people; but religion will stimulate to honourable industry; vast tracts of excellent land, which the system hitherto established could never reach, will be brought under cultivation; and the Island will become the home of a happy population, and will be adorned with fruitful fields, and studded with peaceful and thriving villages. But let the people of Jamaica be admonished. If ever they should forget that God who broke the oppressive yoke of slavery: if ever they should forget their obligations to the men who for so many years endured so much of reproach and suffering for their best interests;—then indolence and

wretchedness will be the result ; the Island will be the grave of its own prosperity, and will exhibit, for a warning to others, the melancholy spectacle of the degradation of an ungrateful people, and the sin of such as apostatize from God. May such a day never come ; but may the divine blessing ever rest on all classes of its population : may its rulers learn wisdom from the failings of their predecessors, and always adopt and prosecute such measures as shall promote the public good : may its ministers be men of righteousness, filled with the Holy Ghost ; and may its churches continue to flourish, until the land shall be covered with the knowledge of God.

The following schedule will show the present state of the Mission. It is taken, with but little alteration, from the Committee's Report for 1848 ; and by comparing with it the returns of the District-meeting of 1834, the progress of the work since the passing of the Emancipation Act will be seen and estimated. For the reasons already assigned, the number of members for that period will be given according to the returns of 1832, but as the persons who were on trial were then included, the same class is also added to the members at the present time. They amount to 509.

A VIEW OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THE WESLEYAN MISSION IN JAMAICA.

CIRCUITS.	Number of Chapels.	Other Preach- ing Stations.	Day Schools.	Sabbath Schools.	Missionaries.	Day School Teachers.	Sabbath School Teachers.	Local Preachers.	Day Scholars.	Sabbath Scholars.	Members.	Number attend- ing Public Worship.
Kingston	7	1	6	6	4	6	101	14	449	829	4982	5500
Montego Bay	6	5	4	2	3	4	18	5	365	70	1646	3050
Spanish Town	6	3	1	1	2	1	8	3	108	51	1524	3500
Morant Bay	2	3	2	—	1	2	—	1	90	—	1179	1600
Yallahs, &c.	3	—	2	—	1	2	—	—	82	—	736	850
Grateful Hill and Stoney Hill ..	3	—	2	—	1	2	—	1	67	—	725	750
Falmouth	2	5	2	2	1	1	20	1	161	184	823	1200
St. Ann's Bay	2	1	1	1	1	1	26	4	98	167	690	900
Beechamville	3	6	3	—	2	3	—	2	178	—	1122	1500
Bath and Manchioneal	4	7	3	4	2	2	23	2	269	271	1999	2300
Port Antonio	3	1	1	2	2	1	21	1	60	190	327	750
Lucea	3	—	1	—	1	1	—	2	45	—	234	600
Guy's Hill	4	2	1	—	1	1	—	2	30	—	547	870
Black River	2	2	1	1	1	1	12	1	62	57	229	700
Clarendon	3	4	3	4	2	3	44	2	207	456	1062	1500
Savannah-la-Mar	3	1	1	1	1	1	11	1	64	102	510	1700
Ocho Rios	2	1	2	1	1	1	11	2	62	120	633	750
Watsonville	2	—	2	1	1	1	—	1	77	No return	549	800
Duncan's	2	—	No return	No return	1	1	12	—	132	158	769	1200
Brown's Town	3	1	1	2	1	1	4	4	88	50	586	800
Port Morant	3	5	3	2	1	3	3	3	276	130	1450	1800
Mount Fletcher	3	6	1	1	1	1	4	—	63	35	661	1200
Total in 1847	71	54	43	31	32	40	318	52	3033	2870	22983	33820
In 1834	21	10	1	14	16	1	81	4	95	848	12835	
Increase since 1834	50	44	42	17	16	39	237	48	2938	2022	10148	

N.B. Many of the day scholars also attend the Sabbath schools. The number under instruction, deducting for such as attend both, is 4428.

The preceding schedule will show that a mighty work has been accomplished in Jamaica through the instrumentality of the Wesleyan Mission. But who can tell what innumerable blessings have resulted from it since the first arrival of the venerable Dr. Coke, in 1789 ! Its influence upon civil society, in improving and elevating it, has been inferior to no other agency whatsoever ; but its chief glory is in the honour conferred upon it by God, in rendering it the means of conveying salvation to so many thousands. Multitudes of those have already passed into the eternal world, having left behind them the happy testimony, that the grace of God is sufficient to prepare them for that “ fulness of joy ” which is at his right hand. Several have been mentioned whose exalted piety would do honour to any age of the Christian church ; and others still remain whose memory will be blessed, for many years after they shall have left the church militant here upon earth. Of these there are two worthy persons whose names have not been mentioned, but ought not to be overlooked in the shortest account of the Mission. The first is the widow of the late Rev. George Johnston, who, since the death of her venerated husband, has resided in Kingston, and who by her example, as well as by unobtrusive Christian efforts for the good of others, has been greatly honoured and rendered extensively useful. The other is Mrs. Mary Good, whose modest piety, blended with ardent zeal for the glory of Christ, have rendered her a blessing to hundreds. Her labours of love for the temporal and spiritual benefit of others, and especially her unwearied assiduity in watch-

ing the sick and dying beds of so many of the pastors of Christ's church, will be remembered in that day when he shall say, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto these ye have done it unto me." Both of these excellent persons have been about forty years an ornament to their Christian profession. May their last days be serene and happy, as their past life has been so honourable and useful.

For some years the Jamaica Mission has been burdensome to the funds of the parent institution, but the liberality of British Christians has not been bestowed in vain. It has been seen that many of the members on the Island are at present suffering great privations; it is to be hoped these will be but temporary, and that before long they will be able, (as they have shown themselves willing) to support that cause which to them has been fraught with so many blessings.

ERRATA.

Page 8 line 15, *for* "a short time" *read* "for years."

" 8 " 17, *dele* "utterly."

" 8 " 21, *for* "absolutely" *read* "almost."

" 49 and 50 *for* "1724" *read* "1728."

" 65 " 20, *for* "mem. con." *read* "nem. con."

" 77 " 15, *after* "twenty pounds" *insert* "for every slave."

" 256 " 1, *after* "correspondence of" *insert* "Mr. Whitehouse."

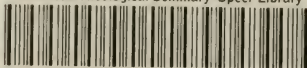
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